

DE GRUYTER

Helmut Bleiber (Ed.) et al.

DEMOCRACY, ANTI- FASCISM AND SOCIALISM IN GERMAN HISTORY

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Democracy,
Anti-fascism and socialism in
German history

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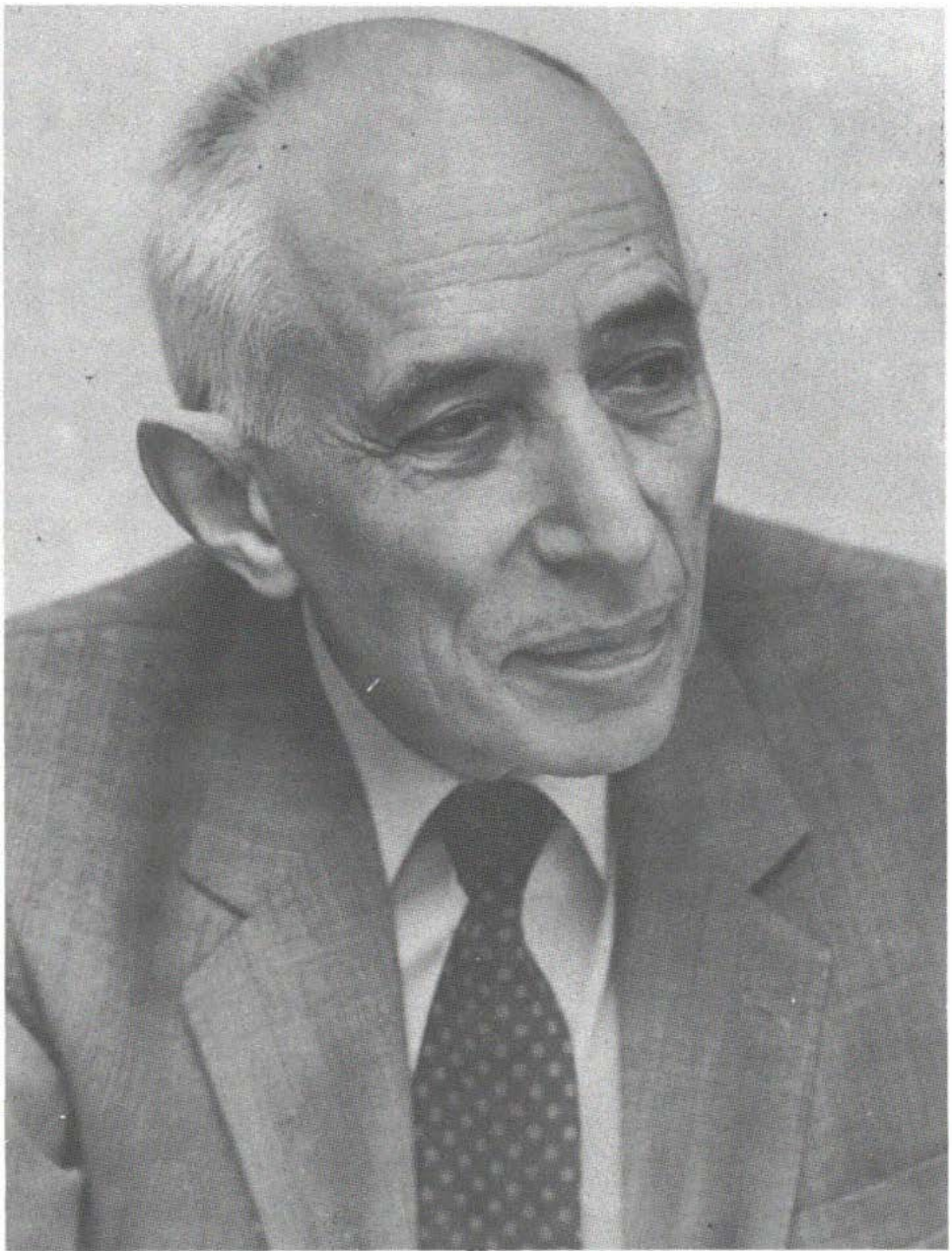
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Heinrich Scheel

Foreword

This collection owes its creation to Heinrich Scheel's 70th birthday on December 11, 1985. It is intended to honor an outstanding representative of GDR history and at the same time to show a guideline in the understanding of history of the first socialist German state.

Heinrich Scheel – communist, anti-fascist resistance fighter, Jacobinism researcher of international standing – himself embodies the irreconcilable dialectical unity of democratism, anti-fascism and socialism in the past and present of our nation. The theme of the commemorative publication combines the main features of the jubilarian's life and work with the contours of the socialist view of history in our country and with the special research achievements of GDR historiography in the development of an understanding of heritage and tradition that is always oriented towards social progress, as is inherent to socialism on German soil here and now.

The first section of the anthology is devoted to the further development of the rich democratic and humanist heritage linked to German Jacobins and German classicism, which Heinrich Scheel has done a great deal to preserve. How the revolutionary German workers' movement and its leading representatives, from Marx and Engels to Rosa Luxemburg, took up this legacy and related the democratism of the progressive bourgeoisie to the far-reaching goals of the proletariat fighting for its emancipation and for an alliance with all democrats is the subject of the contributions in the second part of the book, which seek to shed light on certain turning points in German history in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The relationship between peace and social progress in the struggles of our era and the great traditions of the anti-fascist struggle, which Heinrich Scheel himself helped to create through his personal commitment, form a third focus. In a concluding section, the connection between democracy, anti-fascism and socialism in the founding of the German Democratic Republic is explored and anti-fascist awareness is presented as a fundamental element of our historical thinking and as a constant task of historiographical work.

The anthology, a tribute to Heinrich Scheel by his comrades-in-arms in academia and political life, by students, friends and comrades, in which historians, musicologists, art historians, lawyers and linguists participate, aims to present achievements in historical scholarship and interdisciplinary research in the history of science. The scientific and technical supervision of the volume was in the hands of Gisela Schmidt.

The editors

GEORG KNEPLER

Mozart in Mainz*

The city of Mainz played no small role in Mozart's life. For years, his father Leopold made efforts to secure an engagement for Wolfgang at the electoral court in Mainz, and the latter himself wrote — perhaps only to impress his former love — of good prospects for such a position (July 29, 1778), which of course came to nothing. In later life, however, Mozart had a community of friends and admirers in Mainz, and this was connected with the bourgeois revolt against aristocratic rule, as we shall see. The Mainz publisher Schott brought Mozart's sonatas onto the market as early as 1782, the piano reduction of his *Abduction* as early as 1785, the theater had been performing several Mozart operas since the 1780s, and in 1790 a chronological-topological coincidence — as I will say somewhat vaguely at first — caused Mainz to take on a unique significance for Mozart for a moment. Mozart only stayed in Mainz twice in his short life. He was 7 1/2 years old when the Mozart family, father, mother, sister Nannerl and Wolfgang, stayed in Mainz for about three weeks in August 1763 on their long, three-and-a-half-year journey, Wolfgang and his sister gave four or five concerts in Frankfurt and two in Mainz. Incidentally, Mainz already had a masonic lodge at that time.

Almost Mozart's entire life passed before he was to return in October 1790 for a five-day stay in Mainz, the city where Georg Forster had lived since 1788 and ~~was~~ just 15 months after Mozart's death, he and like-minded people were to found the first bourgeois-democratic republic on German soil, which lasted from March 18 to March 31, 1793. We have no evidence that Mozart and Georg Forster ever met, although in 1790 there was just as much opportunity and a meeting was just as likely as six years earlier.

Mozart and Georg Forster, Vienna 1784

On his way to Poland, Forster spent seven weeks, from the end of July to mid-September 1784, in Vienna, where Mozart had moved three and a half years earlier.

* Dates in brackets refer to Mozart's letters, numbers in brackets refer to the page of the work cited.

KV = *Ludwig von Köchel*, Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis der Werke Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Leipzig⁶ 1969.

was. Forster and Mozart were close in every sense of the word during those Viennese summer and autumn weeks of 1784. Although only 30 years old at the time, just 14 months older than Mozart, Georg Forster, a man of genius, was already highly respected as a learned and experienced naturalist, publicist and draughtsman and as the author of a

- Depiction of Captain Cook's second circumnavigation of the world in 1772-75, in which he had taken part with his father. He met dozens of men and women from the aristocracy, the educated bourgeoisie and the theater world, most of whom were Enlightenment-minded and organized as Freemasons; he was even received in Amalienburg by Emperor Joseph II, to whom he had dedicated his Cook monograph. Just how small and closed these circles were can be seen from a comparison of Forster's Vienna diary, which he kept meticulously and which contains dozens of names, with a subscription list for three of Mozart's concerts that he had circulated a few months earlier. Of the 176 high-ranking people living in the imperial capital and royal seat of Vienna who had entered their names on Mozart's list, Forster must have met 26, but probably 33 or 34 - incomplete information and imprecise spelling of names in some cases make it impossible to make a clear decision - i.e. between 15 and 20 percent of these concert guests. How Forster thought and felt at the time can be seen from a passage in his diary, which he wrote in Vienna on "Saturday, July 31 (1784)". He was in a

Frei Maurer Gesellschaft" and had met several like-minded people there.

Forster's comment: "A company of 17 lively, friendly and under people bound together by love and friendship, who are accustomed to spreading the seeds of enlightenment, preaching tolerance, confronting prejudices and speaking and thinking freely about everything." This is followed by enthusiastic words about Ignaz von Born, a respected geologist and mineralogist, whose name day was the occasion for the meeting. Although only 42 years old at the time and only 12 years older than Forster and hardly much older than the others, Forster called him "a father among many loving and beloved children". Mozart would have fitted in well with this group, and he was soon to become part of it: on December 14, 1784, Mozart was admitted to the lodge.

"Zur Wohltätigkeit", three months after Forster's admission. But Forster had already been admitted to another, far more prestigious lodge a month earlier, the "Zur wahren

Eintracht" was accepted. Their "master of the chair" was none other than the famous Born. The Mozarts had known him, of whom it was rightly said that he had become the model for Mozart-Schikaneder's Sarastro in *The Magic Flute*, since their Salzburg days: "Listen, brother Forster, he must get to know Mozart!", is probably explained by the fact that Mozart was known at the time primarily as a piano virtuoso, even though his *Entführung* had been very successful in the repertoire of the Burg Theater since July 1782. What kind of music Mozart was preparing to compose, Born could not have known at the time, any more than his fellow composers. And so it probably came about that Forster, who was also interested in music, never met Mozart, although the two were probably under the same roof more than once; certainly on August 23, when both attended the first performance of Paisiello's *Il re Teodoro* at the Burgtheater. - **With** Forster's departure from Vienna, the lives of the two men parted, only to come closer together again six years later in Mainz, and then only for a few days. The aim of this study is to investigate whether the two men were still as close in spirit during Mozart's stay in Mainz as they were in Vienna. World historical

events had occurred between 1784 and 1790. How Forster reacted to them is attested to by his writings and his leading role in the Mainz Republic. Mozart's reaction is not obvious. The primary and secondary literature must be consulted.

1. the development of sources and the history of reception

Both men's collected works are available in excellent editions. The complete edition of Mozart's compositions, exemplarily edited and with its almost indispensable prefaces and critical reports, is almost complete with around 90 volumes (1955 ff.). In 1961 Otto Erich Deutsch had already published *Mozart. J)ie Dokumente seines Lebens* ; the fully indexed and annotated edition of the *letters and notes* has been available since 1975, and there is also an important illustrated volume (Deutsch 1962). The situation is equally favorable with regard to the indexing of Forster's writings, diaries and letters, since the 20-volume complete edition (begun in the GDR in 1958 and now almost completed) has existed; since Forster's work in the preparation and implementation of the Mainz Republic has been documented by two monumental annotated documentary volumes, presented by the man to whom these lines are dedicated (Scheel 1975, 1981), and thus the "lamentable, but not lamented" The "miserable state" of the development of sources - due to a "particularly penetratingly reactionary attitude" towards the Mainz Republic (Scheel 1975, 9 and 10) - has come to an end since, among others, the scholarly biography of Forster by Gerhard Steiner (1977) became available - Forster's life path from a natural scientist committed to the Enlightenment to a revolutionary can be clearly traced with all its doubts, setbacks and detours. - The secondary literature on and about Mozart is complicated. As early as 1970, more than 6500 writings were documented (Angermüller/Schneider 1976), and the flood has not abated since then. It cannot be said that these mountains of knowledge and descriptions, discussions of problems and interpretations have brought the path of knowledge ever closer to the great man. It is true that some of the concerns that Mozart connoisseurs had with the older Mozart literature have been dispelled; no one today will present Mozart as a witty, gallant, playfully graceful rococo musician (as some older biographers and the Viennese Mozart memorial did) or according to the cliché of the eternally smiling youth of the sun. It is true that serious Mozart biographies and

-monographs are available, carefully crafted and informative in various respects, although almost every one in a different way and none in every respect. This is countered by the fact that early bourgeois foresight, an embarrassing reminder of the sins of youth, is presented as outdated by today's bourgeois thinking, which has no historical perspective. But without an understanding of the potencies, hopes and utopias of the Enlightenment, Mozart remains an enigma.

If one traces the history of this misunderstanding, the trail also leads to otherwise highly esteemed works of Mozart literature such as Abert's *W. A. Mozart* (19 19-21). In a chapter of this work (II, 1-36), which the author calls *Mozart's personality*, he becomes entangled in supporting the thesis that we certainly misjudge Mozart's personality, "if we seek its driving basic force elsewhere than in the artistic creative instinct" (II, 2), into hopeless - and quite superfluous - contradictions. According to Abert, this creative drive needs "no stimulation from outside" (ibid.), which, in view of the desire,

which Mozart used to avoid any external offense - as Abert himself repeatedly and cleverly pointed out - is an unfortunate formulation, to say the least. It is not to put it mildly that I want to reject Abert's daring to dismiss the idea, fundamental to Mozart, that it is not rank and status but heart and mind that matter, that people are fundamentally equal, with the throwaway remark that it is a matter of occasional

"democratic effusions, as the bourgeoisie of the time liked to talk about" (II, 1 3)! As if he realizes that he is moving on shaky ground, Abert tries to support his views with the help of an unsuccessful attempt to explain Father Leopold's preference for "politics".

- which in Abert's depiction pretty much coincides with what is called "calculation" - to be distinguished from Mozart's attitude, who takes people as they are in an apolitical way; "above all, he does not examine them for good and evil". Is it possible that Abert has not noticed that Mozart's operatic characters, for example, have been "examined" for good and evil and treated musically accordingly? It must surely also be said that Mozart considered Count Arco, who threw him down the stairs, or the Archbishop of Salzburg, whom he hated "to the point of rage" (May 12, 1881), to be bad from a moral and political point of view and for good reasons. But according to Abert, Mozart "was never a politician", as can be seen from the significant fact that "the most important political event he experienced, the French Revolution, is not mentioned at all in his letters!" (II, 12). (II, 12). This statement, although true, does not prove what it is supposed to prove. Even about Freemasonry, whose significance for Mozart Abert himself emphasizes, there is - literally - not a single word in the letters, and Mozart would have had three to four times more time to react to it in letters than to the French Revolution. The Mozarts, who used a cipher for years when it came to sensitive matters in their correspondence, worried that their letters could or had fallen into unauthorized hands, knew exactly what they could and could not entrust to the post. That would have been just what Mozart needed to show his interest in the French Revolution in an unencrypted letter, possibly even sympathizing with it! - No, Abert's portrayal of Mozart's personality is an apologia; it defends Mozart from the suspicion that he had become involved in worldly, even political issues. Abert's attitude only becomes understandable if one understands it in the context of the endangered ideology of the bourgeoisie before, during and after the First World War, which was also struck by the fear of the revolution in Russia and its possible consequences. What was considered a virtue in Abert's time, namely "not being interested in politics" and thus supporting existing class relations, he thought he discovered in Mozart's attitude. But virtues of this kind were not Mozart's.

The fact that Wolfgang Hildesheimer . in his *"Mozart"* (1977) elegantly carries out the overdue shattering of some legends and clichés is noted with amusement and with shame (that it did not take place within the guild to which one belongs). Unfortunately, however, he not only leaves two of the most persistent legends and those most deeply entangled in late bourgeois ideology undamaged, but confirms them. In Hildesheimer, they are reflected in two prominently emphasized formulations. One, of a general nature, is that music "does not allow for any non-musical conceptualization" (17). This is part of the standing repertoire of bourgeois musicology and seems to be a fundamental problem in a phase in which post-structural literary theory even denies the literary text the ability to adequately represent reality.

is even more plausible, but this does not make it any more correct. Only with the greatest of difficulties, which Hildesheimer does not even enter into, could it be denied that music is a system of signs. And no one has yet discovered a system of signs without conceptuality; it is only a matter of discovering the type of its conceptuality and the specifics of its way of coding. Hildesheimer's other formulation is : "Mozart's reactions to his life circumstances and mental states, as they present themselves to us in documentary form, are not illuminated by his work" (8). It is true that traditional methods have not, or hardly at all, been able to work out the connections between the circumstances of his life, his emotional states and his work. Hildesheimer, however, mystifying the concept of genius, turns the limitations of traditional methods into fundamental barriers to knowledge. One of the bad consequences of such methods is that ideas of the genius's detachment from society gain widespread acceptance. Most depictions of Mozart, both scholarly and ignorant, written and carved in stone, literary, theatrical and cinematic, agree on one thing: living entirely in music, Mozart was indifferent to the events that made Georg Forster a revolutionary. Take the 1984 film *Amadeus*. Outstanding handling of cinematic possibilities and brilliant acting performances make its success with the public understandable. But the fact that in this film the late

The 18th century comes alive in magnificent costumes, interiors, ball and theater scenes but that not even a single word or even the briefest image in the film can convey the Christian and Masonic maxims of life that moved Mozart ; that the *Amadeus* who moves across the screen - in a magnificent performance in itself - *can* be neither a Christian nor a Freemason ; that the careful omission of the Enlightenment complex has one aim, namely to glorify the artist's irresponsibility towards society ; that it is, to put it bluntly, a virtuoso falsification of the figure of Mozart, which few people realize.

But there are certainly approaches to a deeper understanding. In the German-speaking literature, the intelligent, knowledgeable and imaginative monograph *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart* by Jean and Brigitte Massin (1959, French) has hardly been noticed. In the **FRG**, for example, an insightful and informative work by Wolfgang Ruf on *Figaro* (1977) was recently published; in the **GDR** the concise biography by Fritz Hennenberg (1970), the study of the Figaro cavatina by Harry Goldschmidt (1973), the *essay on the Magic Flute* by Friedrich Dieckmann (1981). - Recently, a physicist (Born 1985) has polemically emphasized the necessity of understanding Mozart and his music from the historical situation in which he worked, which can be reconstructed down to the last detail. (Born's attempt to make Mozart's musical language comprehensible is unfortunately inadequate, despite some pertinent references, which cannot be dealt with here). Born also emphasizes a sentence from one of Mozart's letters in which he says that he is neither a poet nor a painter nor a dancer and therefore cannot express himself in their media; "I can, however, through sound; I am a musician". As Born rightly emphasizes, the decisive aspect of this sentence (which has hardly been noticed up to now) is that Mozart precisely names what he can only express through sound - neither in the trains of thought of his time, which would have led one to expect something like "imitation of nature", "affect" or "emotion", nor in those of his interpreters of today, but - as "meine gesinnungen und gedanken" (7 November 1777) ! One could still interpret "Ge danken" as "musical thoughts" if one absolutely wanted to save traditional ideas, but not the preceding "Ge-

sinnungen" as "musical convictions". Mozart speaks here of his convictions, his world view translated into music; we will keep this in mind.

2., Some things about motivation

Mozart's life coincided with the greatest technological, social, political and intellectual upheaval that mankind had ever experienced. A partial process of this upheaval was that the bourgeoisie in Europe and America successfully challenged the hegemony of the nobility. Mozart grasped this situation and these processes with his own hyper-nervous intuitive ability to react. In view of the state of psychology, whose research results and terminology are not precise enough to allow us to understand exactly what is meant by "insight" and, above all, what is meant by "awareness", it is not possible to decide with what degree of insight and awareness he did so. Obviously, there are different degrees of awareness; socially determined attitudes and actions are not necessarily accompanied by verbalizable insights. (See Pfeiffer.)

Music was constantly going around in Mozart's head, day in, day out, while he spoke, ate, traveled, played billiards and probably also while he slept. Otherwise he would never have created his giant oeuvre. And this "turning over" of music in his head (a kind of Mozartian vocabulary, by the way) must be thought of as a kind of manual process in which the invention, experimentation, inversion, further development, combination of motifs and themes, the devising of harmonies, keys, instrumental colors – all this in interaction – took place, an incessant activity. According to a widely accepted idea, this activity occupied Mozart's mind and nervous system to the exclusion of everything else. Mental production, even less than Mozart's composing, does not take place in this way. Without motivation there is not even the most elementary brain activity. From a physiological point of view, motivation should not be thought of as an additional burden on the brain, which is already overworked (e.g. with composing), but as an indispensable prerequisite for all brain activity, consisting of highly complex circuits of a multitude of different brain and nerve centers.

"Motivational mechanisms . . . cannot be separated from sensory, motor, attention and activation processes, learning and emotions". (Birbaumer 1975, 196). These motivations must be thought of as activation processes which, far from being fully understood by psychology, take place on several levels of consciousness. Of course, necessities, such as earning money, fulfilling a composition commission, producing something playable for an academy to be held the day after tomorrow, also form motivations. But these alone are not meant here. Above all, we are talking about deeper ethical motivations. (On the connection between motivation and ethics, see John Erpenbeck 1984, especially 303 ff.) – If there was anyone who was Mozart's equal as a musical genius, if there was anyone who understood him despite the 24 years that separated them in age, it was Joseph Haydn. And Haydn wrote from London in January 1792, when Mozart had died, to a Freemason whom they both knew: "I was quite beside myself for some time over his death and could not believe that prudence should so quickly take an irreplaceable man into the other world. Only I regret that he could not first convince the still dark Englishmen of what I preach to them daily.

Haydn and Mozart used to preach in words, something of the motivations behind their music-making becomes tangible here, or - in Mozart's words - of their attitudes and thoughts expressed in notes.

3. The reading Mozart

Not only Abert and the film people who made *Amadeus*, but also most of his biographers consider a Mozart who informs himself through reading to be unimaginable. Hildesheitner, too, believes that "as far as we can ascertain, contemporary events never reached the level of his consciousness" (23) and that Mozart could not be imagined as a reader, unless reading plays (203). But all this is unfounded, as can easily be demonstrated. First we have Constanze's testimony that Mozart "liked to read" (was fond of reading), and that she herself, Constanze, then 66 years old, had nine volumes of one of his favorite authors in her possession and often read them. The information was given to Mary Novello, who had come to the continent in 1829 with her husband, the London musician and publisher Vincent Novello, in search of Mozart memorabilia. Mary Novello's comment on the information about this work : „. . . but as it is forbidden fruit in the Austrian lands, she did not mention the title - I have the suspicion that it was one of the French revolutionary works" (Novello 1829, 95). This suspicion was not unfounded. Mary Novello knew that Mozart had been very familiar with at least *one* work by a French pre-Revolutionary author; she could also have found further clues to the direction in which his reading interests lay in the 41-item list of Mozart's books that was compiled after his death, although at least *one* title from Mozart's library was missing from this list, namely the nine volumes in Constanze's possession! About half of the books mentioned are collections of poems, plays, anecdotes; only two books, apart from several volumes of Cramer's *Magazin der Musik*, have music as their subject. The others include a work of history, one on philosophy, three on natural sciences, a book on the character and actions of Joseph II, the works left behind by Frederick II, and five Enlightenment writers (including two Jews): Moses Mendelssohn, Alois Blumauer, Joseph von Sonnenfels, Salomon Geßner and Adolph Freiherr von Knigge. We have no reason to assume that Mozart left all these books unread - "I prefer . . . a book from my pocket and read" (December 20, 1777), as he was already in the habit of doing in Salzburg, as we know from himself. There were also good libraries in the Masonic lodges. But even the widespread opinion that he did not read newspapers, that he was not interested in daily events, is falsified by Mozart himself: "I have read nothing about it in the newspapers," he wrote to his father on July 20, 1778, namely about a disturbing piece of news according to which the Emperor's life was in danger in the War of the Bavarian Succession. And just a few lines later it says : „. . . in the newspapers . . ." and now another piece of news that gets to him. The 20-line passage of the letter begins with the words : "Well, what do you hear about the war? - 3 days ago I was so depressed, and so sad - it does indeed concern me

I'm too sensitive, I'm immediately interested in something -". The passage is not isolated. Massin's very careful readers have referred to this and other passages in the letter. Months earlier, on February 7, 1778, Mozart wrote for his father

eight quatrains of a mocking poem on the war, and when, during a Spanish-English

lical conflict over Gibraltar, he did not limit himself to a compositional interest, but took sides; he was not only a composer, but also an author.

"Arch-Englishman", he informed his father (October 19, 1782), and "Mozart's lifelong fondness for the English [was] . . . as with all progressive contemporaries, politically motivated" (Born, 38). In England at that time — where even the girls, according to Blondchen in the *Abduction*, were "born to freedom" — citizens had won more rights than anywhere else in the world.

4. Mozart and the Freemasons

"The thought of his masonry permeates . . . his entire oeuvre; many of his works, not just the 'Magic Flute', are Moorish without the uninitiated suspecting it." These words of Alfred Einstein (121) can be considered undisputed. More recently, Katherine Thomson has documented this connection with a wealth of material. As fascinating as it is to pursue this, including the cross-connections and conflicts **between Freemasonry and church music**, what concerns us here is Mozart's social position within Freemasonry.

It says nothing definite about someone that he was a Freemason in Mozart's and Forster's time. Freemasonry in the revolutionary period is (in the words of Wolfgang Heise, 57)

"very differentiated. Heterogeneous class forces organized themselves in it. Their spectrum ranges from the aristocratic club to the educational association of the enlightened absolutism — from the reformed nobility, court officials and so on — to the association of avant-garde forces of the bourgeoisie, above all its intelligentsia, for the purpose of mutual solidarity, sociability, education and politics." What made Mozart a Freemason seems to have been above all his desire for a kind of actualization of the Christian ideal of the equality of all. However, although this was one of the aims of the Freemasons, in practice they were not far behind. A younger contemporary of Mozart, Ignaz von Seyfried (1776-1841), composer and conductor, perhaps Mozart's piano pupil, wrote a report which, although it contains inaccuracies written with the hindsight of 50 years, nevertheless shows that there were differences (often described elsewhere) between non-noble lodges, one of which is described as "a so-called Winkel- or Freß-Lodge, where the weekly evening meetings were devoted to games, music and the many pleasures of a well-stocked table", on the one hand, and the "highly famous Born's" lodge on the other, "which had Vienna's first dignitaries and the elite of the literary caste of the time" as members (Seyfried 47 1). But it was Born who turned his back on the lodge and freemasonry in 1786, and his resignation must have had similar reasons to those of another freemason in Hamburg, namely Lessing. Lessing had a Hamburg lodge in 1771 at the age of 42 and was soon disappointed by what he experienced there. In the late 1970s, he wrote *Ernst und Falk. Conversations for Freemasons*, in which he draws a distinction between the trappings and the goals of true Freemasons. Ernst" plays out to his interlocutor the reasons for rejection that Freemasons tend to put forward when, for example, a Jew or a cobbler — "it would also be a Jakob Böhme and Hans Sachs" — applies for admission; a third example by Ernst fits Mozart's situation exactly: „ . . . let a faithful, experienced, tried servant come and report — 'Yes', it says, 'such people are free'.

"Those who do not choose the color of their skirts themselves — we are such good company among ourselves." Even Mozart, less than four years before he was admitted to a lodge, was not allowed to choose the color of his skirt himself. "I did not know that I was a chamber servant ... I should have spent a couple of hours in the ante camera every morning," Mozart wrote to his father (May 12, 1781). It would be worthwhile to show in detail that the distinguished gentlemen among the Viennese Freemasons, landowners, industrialists, bankers, did not treat Mozart as their equal, even though he remained true to his maxim of being a "true brother".

5. Mozart's life in Vienna

Seen from the external circumstances of his life, the (approximately 11) last years of his life, the years that Mozart lived in Vienna, present themselves as a dazzling rise lasting about half of this time, followed by a life-threatening decline. Ever since Mozart settled in Vienna in 1781, at the age of 25, after a bold and stormy break with his and his father's brother, the Archbishop of Salzburg, as a virtuoso, composer and piano teacher living off his freely disposable work, his success initially proved him right. In the first few months of his stay in Vienna (January 23, 1782), he presented his father with five items on his agenda: a permanent position at court, preferably with the Emperor himself; piano students; an annual opera commission; an annual public concert; and finally, compositions printed on subscription. Not all program points could be fulfilled. Mozart did not and did not want a permanent position, not even outside Vienna; all he achieved in this respect, and that only in December 1787, was an appointment as "chamber musician" to the Emperor, which earned him 800 florins a year, a fraction of what his predecessor Gluck had received, what the court chapel masters Bonno and (after him) Salieri received or what prima donnas and castrati used to earn. Mozart only received four opera commissions from the court in Vienna in eleven years, and the printing of the compositions did not bring in much. Teaching the piano was a better source of income, albeit a precarious and, in the last years of his life, increasingly meagre livelihood and an occupation he did not enjoy. As far as concerts were concerned, Mozart was extraordinarily successful in 1784 and 1785. There is evidence of 20 concerts each; there may have been more. In March 1784 alone, Mozart was heard 18 times in aristocratic and middle-class homes.

The Mozart literature has tried to explain the misery that befell Mozart from 1786/87 with the superficiality and fickleness of the Viennese, including the Freemasons, with the intrigues of Italian musicians, with the incomprehension of the imperial family; there is no need to deny the effectiveness of all these factors. But the deepest reason for the change in Mozart's Viennese fortunes was political. "Figaro", Hildesheimer rightly writes, "became the beginning of his undoing" (132). (The premiere of *The Marriage of Figaro* took place on May 1, 1786.) That a servant should come out victorious against a ruler - "the Viennese aristocracy did not like that" (ibid.). Wolfgang Ruff (1977, 135 ff.) also comes to similar conclusions, as does even the conservative and carefully judging Paumgartner. It cannot be overlooked that the number of subscribers - for academies and printed music, of invitations to private concerts and of pupils declined catastrophically. After about 2 1/2 years, in April 1787, the Mozarts had to sell their splendid apartment in Schulerstrasse in the middle of the city, just a few steps from St. Stephen's Cathedral.

in the Landstrasse suburb, although the change of location was quite unfavorable, at least for the financially indispensable piano lessons. The reason for the move — "I may well guess", wrote Mozart's father (May 1, 1787) — was that the rent took up too much of the dwindling income. Between the summer of 1789 and his departure for Frankfurt on September 23, 1790, Mozart wrote 12 letters to his friend, the cloth manufacturer and Freemason Michael Puchberg, which read like begging letters, although Mozart did not ask for any gifts of money. Puchberg did help, but almost regularly with smaller sums than he had asked for, which he thought he would get back with interest and which Constanze reimbursed him for after Mozart's death. Things were not so far removed from Masonic brotherhood here either. An application for admission to the Tonkünstler-Societät, submitted in February 1785 and repeated in March, remained unanswered, perhaps because Mozart had omitted to enclose his baptismal certificate. A request made to the imperial family after Joseph's death to make him second court conductor and piano teacher to the imperial family was also unsuccessful. Mozart was only granted a request to work as an unpaid assistant conductor at St. Stephen's Cathedral on May 5 p9 1, exactly seven months before he died. - This abundance of disappointments and humiliations cannot be explained, as Born (115 f.) attempts to do, by the Turkish campaign of 1788. Apart from the fact that they were partly before 1788, partly after, the concerts at van Swieten's took place in 1788, which were frequented by Mozart's "patrons" and in which he was able to participate, but only as an arranger of Handel's works and (presumably) as a conductor. Nevertheless, in 1790 Mozart raised the money to pay for Constanze's stay at a health resort in Baden and to buy a carriage in which he traveled to Frankfurt with his brother-in-law, the violinist Holzer, and a servant, hoping to give a concert on the occasion of Leopold II's coronation on October 9, 1790; but Mozart was not represented in the official festive program, for which 24 musicians were brought to Frankfurt from Vienna and in which music by no less than 8 composers was played. Salieri had come to Frankfurt in the emperor's entourage, Mozart at his own expense. His academy took place at an unfavorable time, most of the guests had already departed, and so it was not possible for Mozart to attend.

"splendid in terms of honor, but meager in terms of money" (October 15, 1790). In his letters, in Constanze's communications after Mozart's death and in the biography of Mozart by her second husband, Georg Nikolaus von Nissen, which was written under Constanze's supervision and edited by her, there is repeated mention of the intrigues, envious people and enemies Mozart knew he was surrounded by. And it should not be forgotten that in the last weeks of his life he was convinced that people were trying to kill him. "Certainly, I have been given poison! I cannot rid myself of this thought." According to Constanze's testimony in Nissen's biography (563), Mozart said this while sitting with her on a bench in the Prater on a beautiful fall day in 1791. (Constanze and Nikolaus Nissen thought the suspicion was unfounded; even today, I don't think we should be too sure of this; after all, Salieri need not have been the poisoner). But it is not whether Mozart's suspicion was justified or not, that he harbored it, that must concern us. The objective existence of a hostile Viennese environment at this time is expressly confirmed by Nissen's biography. On Mozart's return to Vienna in the summer of 1789, for example, Nissen states (536) : "He knew that envy, cabal of many kinds, oppression, misjudgment and poverty would await him here." Mozart could have dealt with intriguers and envious people — "where have I . . . not have?", he wrote on May 1, 1778 — but not with poverty. Blame for Mozart's

Vienna's misery was that the court, nobility, clergy and industrialists abandoned him. That his "Destiny . . . unfortunately, *but only in Vienna* . . . adverse", as he wrote two days before the Bastille was stormed in Paris (July 12, 1780), needs to be supplemented: his friends outside Vienna came mainly from the bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia.

6. Work and world

The Viennese catastrophe was countered by growing recognition in Prague, Frankfurt, Mainz, London and elsewhere and a stupendous increase in creativity, especially in the last year of his life, during which he composed his masterpieces. *The Magic Flute*, *Titus*, the Requiem, the Clarinet Concerto, the last Piano Concerto and the last String Quintet, the *A ve, verum corpus*, plus two Masonic cantatas, one of the most enigmatic of Mozart's pieces for an organ roll and a whole series of other compositions, including more than three dozen dances. With regard to the creative power, the word "unfathomable" is indeed appropriate; the work itself, however, is ready to reveal its secrets to unprejudiced contemplation. A deepening of the compositional process can be observed from the early works to those of the Viennese decade, encompassing all genres and ignoring the vocal-instrumental boundaries. Harry Goldschmidt has shown many times what role models from (vocal) church music have played in instrumental works, including Mozart's, how the words of vocal compositions determine their ritornelle (1966, 1986), and he has made it probable (1985) that a whole group of works from the first half of the 1780s, chamber music, piano concertos, are related to pieces from the *Abduction* in terms of ideas, structure and sometimes also prosody. I have shown (1976) that the String Quartet in **D** (**K.** 499) is a *Figaro quartet*, and there are plenty of similar connections. Mozart research will have to address this fact. The way in which personal experiences and social insights permeate each other in Mozart's work has also not yet been worked out in anything like an exhaustive manner. The instability, dubiousness and ambiguity of human relationships, for example – deeply socially conditioned – preoccupied Mozart throughout his mature life. When he writes about jealousy in his third-last opera *Cosifan tutte*, 1790, and about the four main characters' "deeply irritating and disturbing", "most secret, but perhaps real" desires and possibilities of their own souls (Gerhartz 1984, 13), Mozart stands behind them as a confidant and understander. When in *Don Giovanni*, 1787, a noble malefactor is punished, which is entirely in keeping with Mozart's political conception, there is also an understanding for the exuberant sensuality of the punished man; Mozart was no outsider. Furthermore, it should be noted and examined that Mozart used certain compositional techniques only once in his huge oeuvre; new insights were required in each case.

new means of musical representation. These development processes, all of which are not The many ways in which the "purely musical" favorite path of bourgeois musicology has come about can understandably not even be hinted at in the context of a brief study. However, I would like to give two or three examples that lie along the path of thought pursued here.

In the spring of 1786, Mozart reached for Beaumarchais' *The Marriage of Figaro*, a play that had had a revolutionary effect in contemporary France and was banned from the stage in Austria. And it was his choice. (In a clever French

TV movie about Mozart, the authors have da Ponte respond to Mozart's suggestion to turn Beaumarchais' play into an opera: "Mozart, he has lost his mind!") Conversely – the choice says little or nothing – one can read in variously nuanced and tinted biographies of Mozart that in transforming Beaumarchais' play into a libretto, da Ponte played it down and depoliticized it. But apart from the fact that the choice itself has testimonial force – it was made for the unpublished original (perhaps he got to know it through Schitzaneder) – the traditional opinion that the libretto has lost the explosive nature of the play is not correct. This explosiveness does not lie solely in the sharp aphorisms and dialogues, some of which were in fact not included in the opera; it lies in the way in which the constellation of characters is handled. In a detailed comparison between the play and the libretto, Wolfgang Ruf came to the conclusion that the "polarization between the classes" in da Ponte is even "more sharply accentuated" than in Beaumarchais (90) and that "at least in a large part of the libretto, one cannot speak of a substantial reshaping of the tendentious basic content of the original" (84). This is shown above all by the music. There are at least two firsts and one-offs in the Figaro score. One: the peripeteia of the play, the scene in the finale of the second act (No. 16.3), in which the Count has to accept his first defeat, is compositionally arranged in such a way that music depicts and comments on the changing, complicated plot in the form and technique of a fully realized symphonic movement! This had never been done before. Even more important was the other first: Mozart's "compositional wisdom", which Haydn praised in him (February 16, 1785) and which consisted, among other things, in the fact that he "pretty much . . . all kinds and styles of compositions", as he himself put it (February 7, 1778). February 1778), Figaro sets out to give characters from different classes (or social milieus) different musical treatment: Mozart gave the Count's creatures opera buffa style, the Count quasi opera seria style, Cherubino a slightly ironized, sentimental song style; for Figaro and Susanna, however – to whom the Countess also belongs, as is right, given their origins –, for those who have their "wealth . . . in their heads", who are "low, poor and bad" (February 7, 1778), Mozart wrote – how else could he formulate his partisanship other than musically? – Mozart wrote a tart, graceful music that is "higher", richer and more complex than that of his predecessor and which does not fit into any traditional scheme.

Figaro marks the step from the fraternization ideology of the Freemasons to the class confrontation of the pre-revolutionary phase.

"Two years after the storming of the Bastille and the victorious uprising of the Belgian Estates against the dictatorship of Joseph II, one year after the death of this despotic bringer of freedom and the accession to power of his brother Leopold. one year after the death of this despotic bringer of freedom and the accession of his brother Leopold, in the midst of the partial repeal of the Josephine reforms enforced by the nobility and clergy" (Dieckmann, 93), Mozart wrote *The Magic Flute*, which was performed on the stage of a Viennese suburban theater on September 30, 1791. Contemporaries understood or suspected that something topical was at play here. Even Franz Schubert's friend Leopold von Sonnleithner, who could say of his father Ignaz (born 1770) (Deutsch 1966, 393) that he had been "friends with Mozart, Haydn and Beethoven", saw the work as one written with the intention of "friends of progress",

"to make a demonstration in favor of their party and the Masonic order leading it", "but to expose their opponents to mistrust and contempt" (Sonnleithner, 112; see Dieckmann on this complex). This marvelous first and uniqueness consists in the stroke of genius, the immaculately preserved musical atmosphere

of Viennese folk and magic comedy with the most highly developed forms and techniques: Fugue, chorale variation, sonata form. Seen from Mozart's own sphere of life, the work marks the transition from the noble Freemasons to those of the theater world (Schikaneder); sociologically, from the aristocratic, upper middle-class audience to the plebeian; politically, from the still peaceful class confrontation of *Figaro* to the armed one (with trombones, among other things): The enlighteners have become fighters.

7. Mozart and Forster, Mainz 1790

Around eight months before he began composing The *Magic Flute*, Mozart arrived at the On October 16, 1790, Mozart left Frankfurt for Mainz on the market boat (the same way he had left 27 years earlier). His traveling companions were the 20-year-old Heinrich Anton Hoffmann, whom Mozart "had already met in Kran's wine tavern in Frankfurt and who was an ardent admirer of Mozart" (Gotttron 1952, 43), and his brother Philipp Carl, who was a year older. The brothers had been law and philosophy students at the University of Mainz and, when their wealthy father died in 1789, turned their love of music into a profession; Heinrich Anton had become a violinist in the court chapel in 1790 (and in this capacity he came to Frankfurt with the Mainz court chapel for the coronation, where he presumably also took part in Mozart's academy; he was or later became a Freemason and composed Masonic hymns). Philipp Carl was a pianist and both played music with Mozart in his parents' house in Mainz; it is possible that they also took part in Mozart's concert at court, which took place on October 20 and, as so often, was financially "meagre" (October 23, 1790). Mozart's operas appeared on the Mainz stage more often than anywhere else, with the exception of Vienna: *Abduction* in 1783, three in 1789: *Giardiniera*, *Giovanni* and *Figaro* and in 1791 – of which Mozart must have been informed – *Così*, all in German. This conspicuously intensive cultivation of Mozart was connected with the efforts of Mainz citizens and theater people to give the theater, although it was of course a court theater, the character of a bourgeois national theater through repertoire design and other measures, as Gerhard Steiner (1973, 34ff.) vividly describes. Iffland praised the successes that were quickly achieved, which he attributed above all to the "so vividly awakened sense of art" in Mainz (37). The report of a theatergoer from the summer of 1791, written just months after Mozart's stay in Mainz, states that "the most distant allusion to the nobility in the play,

. . . from the parterre and even the last seats with an applause that often covers the faces in the boxes with paleness and redness". We do not know whether Mozart visited the Mainz theater and, if so, whether he saw *Die Sonnenjungfer*; he would certainly have liked at least one of the Magic Flute lines from it: the head priest speaks the words: "Believe me, son, few people stand in their place, and least of all when birth tells them to." All hands "that did not belong to the nobility and their servants" were in motion after this sentence, according to the report quoted (38). Mozart had "enthusiastic friends" in the ensemble of this theater (Gotttron 1952, 37); he held at least two of the singers, who had also appeared in Mozart roles, in high esteem. And the Mainz playwright who had translated *Giovanni* into German, Heinrich Sehmieder by name, was, as can be seen from his behavior after the Mainz Revolution, a sympathizer of democratic change.

tions. He was one of the few theater people who remained in Mainz after the revolution; in a letter to the person responsible for the theater at the time, he wrote that he and others had taken it upon themselves to "inspire [the nation's] spirit of freedom even more from the stage through vivid depictions of great acts and to create a *national civic theater* in place of the electoral theater that had disappeared here" (Steiner 1973, 51).

Mozart lived in the (later) "Arnsberger Hof", Schustergasse 45, which was called "Caffe Noble" at the time, but was still a modest place to stay, which he "probably chose wisely, because opposite it stood the . . . 'Casino zum Gutenberg' . . . which also contained the rooms of the reading society, which Krebel's travel guide / that Mozart had in his library / calls the best furnished in Germany.

'Their meeting rooms are open from 9am to 10pm. Strangers can be introduced by members. Of course, Mozart must have been very pleased . . . ' (Gotttron 1952, 47). We can assume that the composer of *Figaro*, who described them as "too sensitive" not to be interested in the war of 1778, whose exchange of countries and border conflicts really did not concern him (see p. 66), was no more indifferent than most of his thinking contemporaries to the beginnings of the French Revolution, which began with resistance to aristocratic privileges and with the pressure on the king to make the taming of the nobility his cause. Newspapers, including those from France, were on display in the reading room, as were magazines, "museums" and the like; "tea, chocolate, coffee, almond milk, lemonade and punch" (Prüsener, 207) were also served. Politically interested men (no women), whose social composition was similar to that of the Viennese Masonic lodges, frequented the reading society. In Vienna, on the other hand, people had been able to inform themselves about the beginnings of the revolution in the numerous newspapers that had been authorized under Joseph II – more than the emperor and his ministers would have liked – but not about its further course and certainly not about peasant uprisings in the German Empire, Hungary and Bohemia, since the Minister of Police issued a *circular* on 23 January 1790 that subjected all newspapers in the country to strict censorship (Wangermann, 48f.). However, Mozart was now beyond the reach of the Viennese censors. In Mainz, Mozart was closer to France – and interesting newspapers – than he had been since the outbreak of the French Revolution. (These two factors constitute the "chronological-topological coincidence" mentioned at the beginning). Mozart was not occupied with any major commissions; Gotttron thinks (52) that he may have finished the piece for an organ roll (K. 594) that he had begun on the journey, which will not have delayed him much; he may also have played one or two church organs. There were only two or three concerts, including those in the Hoffmann family. I come to the conclusion that Mozart frequented the rooms of the Mainz reading society. He could have been introduced by the director of the court theater, Friedrich Carl von Dalberg, who was already a member of the reading society in 1781, if Mozart, as a musician who frequented the court, needed an introduction at all.

Georg Forster is unlikely to have met Mozart in the reading society; Forster had politically outgrown the gentlemen who frequented it; he avoided them. On the other hand, he used to spend an evening "almost daily at his tea table" with a small circle of friends; furthermore, visitors "of every nation, no educated person of whom came to Mainz without visiting Forster" met in his house (Forster, Briefwechsel I, 66). Surprising as it may be, it looks as if Mozart and Forster missed each other again this time.

Forster must have known the man, who was highly famous in Mainz, at least by name, and Doris Stock (1760-1832), who had made a very characteristic drawing of Mozart in Dresden as recently as April 1789, and her fiancé, the writer Ludwig Ferdinand Huber (1764-1804), who lived in Mainz as a legation councillor and was a close friend of Forster's, may also have established a connection. (The Forster marriage crisis triggered by Huber only led to a break-up years later). Be that as it may, we can easily reconstruct that Mozart and Forster would have gotten on well together this time too, had they met. Forster had only returned a few weeks earlier from a long journey to Mainz, which had taken him to deeply troubled regions of Europe; he was busy writing down his impressions. His views had become more concrete and radical compared to the days of the Viennese Freemasons, but he still believed that a prince could serve progress as long as he was the wisest and best man in the state. This was also Mozart's opinion. The fact that the nobility and clergy were not only hostile to the Josephinian reforms, but also to the Josephinians, was Forster's and Mozart's experience during these years. Although Mozart had not, like Forster, visited the country of the first victorious (short-lived) bourgeois revolution in Europe, the Republic of the United Netherlands, he too had experienced the revolutionary changes of (relatively) radical reforms: in Bohemia, where Joseph's partial abolition of the worst privileges of the nobility had a liberating effect. Several of Mozart's friends in Prague were Czechs, burghers and Josephites. Mozart could well have agreed with Forster's statement that art is a "trace of living, transforming humanity", remembering the loving affection and stormy success that the composer of *Figaro* and *Don Giovanni* had enjoyed in Prague. Another similarity is also striking. In The *Magic Flute* (No. 8, bar 44ff.), the signum "Prudence, and labor, and arts" stands for the "seat of the gods", which Tamino assumes to be in Saqlstro's temple district; it is probably the first time that the word "labor" has found its way into Mozart's vocal works. And also the words that immediately follow (bars 51 ff.):

Where activity reigns supreme and idleness
gives way, his rule does not easily sustain vice,

one does not hear as sheer fairy tale poetry. On his journey, Forster writes in multiple formulations, he found that "diligence", that "industriousness", "thrives on the soil of true, not imaginary freedom".

Certainly, Forster's perspective, areas of interest and results are in many respects different from Mozart's. He measures the uprisings and revolutions that had taken place in some of the countries he visited against the experiences of the French Revolution; he understands that the constitution of a country must correspond to and promote economic and industrial development; he distils from his experiences what is probably his most important writing, the two-volume (planned for three volumes) *A nsichten vom Niederrhein, von Brabant, Flandern, Holland, England und Frankreich, im April, Mai und Junius 1 790*; Mozart *Die Zauberflöte*. But whether Mozart really sat at Forster's table and heard him talk about his *views*, or whether he heard similar thoughts from other friends in Mainz, such as the Hoffmann brothers or the *Giovanni translator* Sehmieder, thoughts that also occupied him – how quickly new thoughts arose and matured in the atmosphere of the bourgeois revolutions, how attitudes became actions and actions helped to clarify attitudes, how lawfully the turning away from

The extent to which Mozart's last two years were united in fundamental questions, despite all their differences of approach, by progressive-minded naturalists, philosophers, writers, politicians, theater people and musicians, can be studied in Mozart's last two years. Mōzart certainly did not lack contact with like-minded people, citizens, admiration and friendship from their side, interesting reading and moving news in Mainz. We have it from him himself what he found "wonderfully appealing" on this trip: three things: "entertainment, motion and airing" — we may add with certainty: compared to the stuffy air of Vienna. And this brings me to a passage in a letter whose interpretation by the Massins (530) I endorse. The letter comes from Munich, is addressed to Vienna at the beginning of November 1790 and suggests that Constanze take the same "tour" together the following year, saying that she could visit "another bath". But she would not have been able to do just that; Mozart's "Tours" always included a stay of only a few days at each of several locations, a "Bath" required a longer stay at one. Mozart knew this perfectly well, of course; only a few weeks earlier he had written to Puchberg that Constanze would "have to bathe 60 times" (June 12, 1790). What is written in the letter from Munich is, taken literally, unrhymed stuff. If, on the other hand, one reads the passage in such a way that it does indeed communicate the plan **to** repeat the journey with Constanze the following year — without bathing — but otherwise contains a summary of the experiences in the Rhineland, encoded in a genuinely Mozartian way, the words take on their metaphorical meaning:

[Munich, before November 4, 1 790]

Dearest, best little heart ! . . . I am looking forward to seeing you,
because I have a lot to talk to you about, I have in mind
to make this tour with you, my dear, at the end of the coming summer, so
that you can visit another spa, in the process you will be
The entertainment, motion and change of air are also good for
me, as it suits me wonderfully, I am really looking forward to it
and everything is happy.

8. Conclusion in F major

The question must remain open as to how an examination of "Mozart and Forster, 1793" would have turned out, how Mozart, had he experienced it, would have reacted to the founding of the Rhenish-German National Convention, the Mainz Republic. His sensitive response to the political situation of the years 1784 to 1791 suggests a cautious answer. It is true that what Mozart translated above all into music were visions that transcended the bourgeois revolution, not how to achieve it. But one should not be too sure that Mozart would have remained where he was politically when he wrote *The Magic Flute*. In his last composition, completed on November 15, 1791, the *Little Masonic Cantata* (KV 623), .the last one he conducted, there is a duet full of echoes of the *Magic Flute* completed shortly before, beautiful like the whole work and moving, even if
-you wouldn't know that its composer was dead less than three weeks after he performed it for the first time. It contains the words:

And he's already started again today!

Andante

Flute
Oboe

(3:1)

Baß

(p) Und auch der schon an — ge — fan — gen, fan — ge heu — te wie — der an

Streicher

(p)

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WALTER MARKOV

...Research problems of the French Revolution on the occasion of the death of Albert Soboul*

It may seem unusual to commemorate a historian from France in the context of this colloquium. Far be it from us to want to annex the man and his work in this way.

However, Albert Soboul was no stranger to us, nor an occasional onlooker. He was our companion and comrade-in-arms since he first visited our republic and Leipzig in particular in 1954: a reliable friend on whom we could always — and I emphasize always — count. Since the founding of our research group on the comparative history of the revolution, which fully corresponded to his own perspective, he considered himself an active, even contractually bound partner.

The encounter of the communist Albert Soboul — Marius to his confidants — with the historians of the GDR was, however, of a far more varied nature. He often spent time in our republic, and many of you knew him. We sat "with him on the board of the Robespierre Society and in the Comité directeur of the *Annales historiques de la Révolution française*, at meetings of historians from France and the GDR, in the International Commission of the World Association of Historians for the History of the French Revolution. We fought viribus unitis at many congresses at all latitudes. He opened many doors for us in Paris, especially those to the archives — even at a time when it was not so easy because the required paper marriages were not available or not correct. . . . We published his work, he published ours. We produced a good half-dozen books together in a cross-border collaboration avant la lettre. The Academy of Sciences in Berlin elected him a corresponding member, and the Karl Marx University in Leipzig awarded him the highly deserved doctor honoris causa, as did the Lomonosov University in Moscow.

His premature death therefore hits us hard. It is said that no one is irreplaceable. That is probably true in a broader sense, and our generation of course knows that it is on call in these years.

This loss creates a void in the historiography of the Great French Revolution that will not be adequately filled any time soon. We feel it all the more painfully as the Marxist historians of the world now have to prepare for the approaching commemorative year of 1989 without the support that Albert Soboul had hoped for.

Albert Soboul has made a name for himself in the historiography of the French Revolution.

- Lecture given at the VIIth joint colloquium of historians of the French Republic and the GDR in October 1983 in Paris (slightly abridged), published in : ZfG, 1984, H. 6, p. 483 –489.

conquered a changeable place. Not from one day to the next. He had to fight for it – and how! - had to fight for it before he – recognized by friend and foe alike – asserted his authority as a researcher at the leverage point of Paris. At the Sorbonne, Albert Soboul was the first communist to occupy the traditional and unique chair for the history of the French Revolution. His great Saturday seminar became the most fertile international breeding ground for revolutionary research. Even opponents had to grudgingly recognize that it was "making waves" on the shores of all five inhabited continents.

The obituary of one of his comrades pointed out that Marius found his way to the party of the working class by drawing political conclusions with Cartesian clarity from the insights he gained into revolutionary history. They led him from taking sides with the Great among the *bourgeois* revolutions to joining the Great October Socialist Revolution, from the option for the historical Jacobin turn to the *militant* communism of our day. And for him - in contrast to many a weather vane in his own country – this remained neither lip service nor straw fire. Despite many tribulations, he never left the phalanx he joined half a century ago.

Soboul's strength lay in his complete internal and external concentration on the French Revolution. He consciously and emphatically integrated his *œuvre* into each historiographical chain of tradition, which he called the "classical", and contrasted it with the one he characterized as "revisionist". It could also be described as the ascending progressive one: from Michelet via Aulard, Jaures, Mathiez to Lefebvre and finally to Soboul. Seen in this light, he was not an iconoclast, but felt himself to be the legitimate and legitimized heir and continuator of a process at a higher level.

His specific concern, however, from which he did not allow himself to be dissuaded one iota, was and remained the "revolution d'en bas". In order to really *understand* it and not just ponder it, he demanded that the revolution be seen from below, i.e. from its peasant and sansculot mass base, which formed the subject of his numerous investigations and always opened up new perspectives.

He has thereby earned himself two accusations: that of a de-Jacobinizer and, conversely, that of a neo-Jacobinizer. Since they are diametrically opposed, one might think that they cancel each other out and be tempted to dismiss them as irrelevant. But I don't want to do that, because both phenomena actually exist as such. Soboul, on the other hand, always struggled for a balanced consideration of the different and periodically changing revolutionary factors. He added both new material and new arguments to the relative independence of the main dynamic forces, the peasant uprising in the countryside and the urban popular movement. However, he never allowed the *unity* of the revolution, its overarching anti((:udal totality, to be called into question. He successfully defended himself across the board against its fashionable division into various partial revolutions or even its alleged slide from the shining peaks of an enlightened "interclassist" elite into the clumsy hands of over-candied petty bourgeois, Furet's "derapage".

Soboul insisted on portraying the Revolution as it was, and not as it should have been according to our taste or whatever taste we might have. He did not avoid the *Terreur*, but he did not moralize about it. He showed its historical place, its components, its inner logic in the besieged fortress of France as well as

He used the material to demonstrate their transgressions: in this way, he made the flawed nature of the Prairial Law transparent. In other words, he conceived of the revolution, both in terms of its size and its limits, as the unambiguous climax of the social conflict, the class confrontation in the transition from feudalism to capitalism on a world scale, as a specifically French contribution to this. However, he increasingly rejected the idea of its model character, which was valid once and for all or even only within the category of "bourgeois revolution", as inadmissible gallocentrism.

Finally, it should not go unmentioned that Soboul also struggled with the form of presentation. For a new opus magnum on the entire complex, he considered the time - probably rightly so - was not yet ready. Instead, he procured a new edition of Jaures, on which he was one of the first to apply the technique of critical continuation of a "Classics" through extensive commentary, content-related and bibliographical additions, factual corrections and annotations while fully respecting the original text. In addition, however, he published the well-known *Precis*, his guide to the French Revolution, in which his long teaching experience was also propaedeutically reflected and prompted translations into a good two dozen languages (new edition under the title *La Revolution française*, with a foreword by Claude Mazauric and a bibliography of Soboul's works by Françoise Brunel, Paris 1983).

He did not live to see the publication of his - in my opinion - most beautiful book: The second volume of *La Civilisation et la Revolution française*, which is laid out as a history of problems, was published posthumously by Arthaud in 1982. It shows us once again the whole Marius as he lived and breathed: the comprehensive connoisseur and interpreter of the Great Revolution of his people, of which he was always proud, and the indomitable polemicist, who did not owe deniers, distortionists and derailers the answer - otherwise rather "unusual" among academics in this genre: both a parting word and a legacy.

A fighter has left us; the battlefield remains. Even if its boundaries are not rigid, the overall picture of the revolution has shifted a little in recent years. I am staking out - roughly - the terrain.

One should not underestimate the influence that openly counter-revolutionary, royalist and royalist-clerical literature continues to exert on broad sections of readers in France. The beaux quartiers have never fully reconciled themselves with the revolution, whose virulence they fear under different auspices. Authors such as Aubry and Gaxotte are still being reprinted today, and a whole host of lesser spirits are continuing to popularize the Golden Legend, right down to the effective picture tube, hand in hand with a persistent heresy against the "totalitarian" Jacobin dictatorship. That goes down well with Lieschen Müller. However, nobody takes this camp (with the possible exception of the stylist de Castries) very seriously, and it can be left to them to rack their brains at a lower level every few years about whether Louis **XVII** survived his official death in 1795 or not.

The so-called "Atlantic Revolution" theory, which has long been overrated in terms of its importance in our country, has in fact fallen gently asleep, having never really taken root in France (unlike in the USA). Its actual father, the American Richard R. Palmer, has himself considerably scaled back his ambitions in this regard

and even drop the bold term (even if not all of the associated - ulterior motives). Jacques Godechot, his French partner in 1955, declared it to be an ultimate misunderstanding. I am only mentioning this because he has just discussed it at length in the revised new edition of his "Grande Nation" (Paris 1983), visibly a little embarrassed, in order to put an "end" to this, as he puts it, "sham debate". For it is understandable that no reasonable person has ever denied that between 1775 and 1824 there was a great deal of revolutionary activity on both sides of the Atlantic.

On the other hand, Soboul has gone on the offensive under its own brand "Revisionists". They are sometimes attributed to the influence of the well-known *Annales* school: Lucien Febvre, Fernand Braudel, Pierre Chaunu, each with a different emphasis: a school committed to neo-positivist structural analysis. It certainly played a significant role in the formation of the grouping. However, I would argue that a variety of currents – here more, there less influenced by Marxism – have come together in it, whose political and ideological hinterland is not just right-wing neoliberalism. A "revision" of the traditional-progressive ("classical") line was already inspired in the 1950s by the Tory Cobban, to whom the "noble anarchist" Richard Cobb later, *mirabile dictu*, moved closer and closer. The revisionists were particularly impressed and encouraged by American bourgeois sociology, whose traces can be clearly traced in Taylor, Elisabeth Eisenstein and others. In France today, Bergeron, Furet, Leroy-Ladurie and Riebet are among their main representatives. They have also found a loud resonance abroad. They are well versed in the subject matter and method of argument – some thanks to their FKP past – and are certainly the hardest nuts to crack.

The Gauchist tide that culminated in Paris in May 1968 has now somewhat subsided. Apart from a few excesses in the early days, from which Albert Soboul also suffered, it has certainly contributed to the discussion on some points. In my opinion, it should therefore not just be scolded. In the revitalized and updated revolutionary debate (especially the problem of paths), new or deepened old questions about the character of the transition, of transitions or transitional periods in general, their processual mode, the dialectic of mass/class/leadership, etc. emerged. Symbioses *ip.tra et extra muros* emerged – with both positive and negative signs. An external sign of this: Soboul now also appeared with Maspero. Mind you, I am not talking about the waste products of proven weed growers of the Guérin and Co. price range, but about stimulating motifs in revolutionary historians such as Balibar, Bianchi, Hartig, Gauthier, Wolikoff, the "Hobsbawmians" of *Past and Present*. This "new left" has set itself the task of proving its ability in the specialist field and has already provided the first samples.

All in all, Marxist revolutionary historiography will not have an easy time of it in the short and medium term – with the 1985 International Congress of Historians and the Bicentenaire in mind. Soboul leaves no real successor. Certainly, there are capable workers among his friends and students, but none who could bring the same prestige to the table. It is unfortunate that things are partly similar outside France: The older ones are leaving before the younger ones have fully found their feet. Manfred and Takahashi have passed away, Dalin and Veber

over eighty, Rude' and I are emeriti, Ado is suffering from a heart attack. You want to shout to those who are moving up: hurry up!

After the - call it Kaderspiegel -, the problem mirror !

The French Revolution is certainly badly written out. Anyone who intends to open up something new in this jubilee year must know that he can get into trouble like the hare with the hedgehog. The prospect of a veritable new discovery is slim. Nevertheless, a whole lot remains open. I would even postulate that a genuinely Marxist penetration of the mountain of material has so far only taken place selectively. Even the most beautiful explanations of principles on the macro line alone do not help much. In fact, we have tended to give some of the concrete aspects a wide berth so far, leaving them to bourgeois routine without envy.

I cite as examples the broad field of the history and role of the overt and covert counter-revolution; the place of Freemasonry in the preparatory phase of the Revolution; the problem of war and peace; the women's movement, the youth question, the Cultural Revolution. There is no satisfactory book on the fall of the Gironde and none on the Ninth Thermidor. The Directoire has still not been illuminated: the historians of the Revolution no longer like it, and the writers on Napoleon still do not. The biographies of the left-wingers are by no means all adequately researched either. What is missing

- among others — Chalier, Lacombe, Leclerc, Leon, Momoro, Varlet, the workers' deputies Armonville and Noel Pointe. Of course, most of this can only be made rich in Frank - unfortunately, I might add. Otherwise we might already be in the thick of it
- It is not the good will that is missing.

However, the cardinal question being debated still concerns the objective nature of the revolution, *revolution bourgeoise* a *soutien populazre* according to Soboul's definition. The titles of the two controversial books by Furet and Soboul express this memorably: *Penser la revolution* or *Comprendre la revolution*.

In essence, it is about rejecting the revisionist attack that targets the class content of the revolution and denies any direct nexus between socio-economically determined changes in formation and political "upheaval". A necessary connection exists only in the imagination of subsequent interpreters. This is put forward in a whole bundle of variants. Ultimately, however, they all boil down to playing down the historical discontinuity of the revolutionary rupture, with reference to Tocqueville, and instead to exaggerating the continuity of an evolutionary "modernization" (whatever that is) of state, economy and society — a development that had already begun long ago in the Ancien Régime and was in part hectically accelerated by the convulsions of the Revolution, but on the other hand was also brought about by one another. In short, the conflicts that had led to the revolution (partly as a result of the misconduct of the *old* elites) and were then fought out in favor of *new* elites had nothing to do with forcing a transition from feudalism to capitalism, and consequently nothing to do with a confrontation between classes that were still non-existent as understood by Marx. Feudalism in 1789 was only an outer shell. Bourgeois, even bourgeois-democratic revolutions were therefore artificial, meaningless constructions that were better avoided. Cobban and Palmer warned against their use, for if one were to give the Marxists the little finger of conceptual concession, one would become entangled in the snares of their diabolical dialectic. Whoever says A must then also say B.

As you can see, because what must not be cannot be, one finds, with the exception of historical objectivity, just about everything together, in varying mixes and doses: elitism, industrial logic, Marx falsification, fear of revolution of older and more recent date, often concealed by a mountain of statistics. It would go too far to include a lecture on their refutation here. Suffice it to point them out. Which is not to say, however, that there are no tasks ahead of us. On the contrary. It seems to me that we often still make insufficient use of our *methodological* superiority in the debate. Not only to correct rampant errors as good uncles. It might also be time to shed more light on the current restorative historical writing of the **FRG** in this context: with that heart-warming belligerence of which Heinrich Scheel has once again provided a showpiece in issue 4/83 of the *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*. In our sector, the **FRG** has shone for many years through its practical absence in Klio's higher ranks, which has made long commentaries unnecessary. However, since it has emerged from its sulking corner and is once again showing signs of life (albeit as an essentially eclectic mash-up of elsewhere already distilled out), noble restraint would certainly be out of place.

In addition, however, there are real issues that also affect us – **issues** that we ourselves have to raise, weigh up and examine in detail.

So we still have difficulties with a uniform periodization, although we probably agree that it is about more than just playing with numbers: do we place the final point in 1794, 1795, 1797 or 1799? Do we classify the period of regression and backlog – Thermidorian rule and Directoire – or do we treat the path from the 9th Thermidor to the 18th Brumaire as a sui generis category of revolutionary history? Do we understand Jacobinism in the narrower or in the broader, Manfredian sense? What do we think about the social affinity of Gironde and Montagne on the one hand and their political discrepancy on the other? Are we content to continue treating the Cordeliers as quantite negligible or, conversely, do we turn the big X of "Hebertism" with Soboul into a *mouvement cordelier*? Can Mazauc's characterization of the Vendee as the "deeper truth of the bourgeois revolution" be expanded? And in general: isn't the social history of the individual classes and class strata in the revolution, starting with the bourgeoisie itself and going down to the embryonic proletariat, still missing today? What are the complex causes of the much lamented relative weakness of French industrial capitalism after such an "exemplary" bourgeois revolution? Do they lead us back to the problem of the road?

The catalog could be usefully extended: to areas in which the comparative method, which we have so far only handled with the big brush, promises fruitful insights; to components, programs, methods of struggle, to the spontaneity and strategy of class alliances, to the quite insufficiently considered relations between internal and external factors, to the non-interchangeability of certain revolutionary personalities, to the impact and after-effects of the revolution on Europe and beyond on the world, to congruent and sharply contrasting aspects. We quote Lenin with perseverance **WHERE** he says that the whole of the 19th century is the successor to the 'Revolution, which is rightly called the Great. But where, by whom was this really shown?

This question should lead us to the final part of my remarks, which I would ask you to take as brief information on the status of preparations for the bicentenary in France. **T h e r e** are actually two anniversaries coming up, the comparison of which alone is worth trying to h

300 years of the *Glorious Revolution* in England, 200 since the Bastille Storm: certainly not just two different temperaments in the rough handling of oppressive classes. The English celebrated the first season of their "historic compromise" loudly in 1788. They also caused quite a stir in France, where *the* revolutionary knot was tightening at the same time. The effort of the British long-term memory thus presented itself as a contribution to a debate on the benefits and disadvantages of a "controlled" revolution, so to speak. It is true that the fine English way is always good for a surprise (a Ja Falkland . . .). However, it seems unlikely to me that the islanders should also lavishly hype their shrewd experience with class compromise in 1988.

In France, the case is different. Although Mitterrand's (first) septennate expires a year earlier, the government has to a certain extent pre-committed itself to a worthy revolutionary celebration; perhaps inter alia in memory of 1889 and the birth of the Second Inter nationale. This is of course good to know for anyone who wants to join the demonstration on July 14, 1989, at least in spirit, on the Place de Ja Bastille.

France's historians will therefore be able to get to work with backing. An official commission has been appointed, headed by Michel Vovelle, most recently a professor at the Universite de Provence in Aix. He has already traveled extensively to find out about intentions and work abroad that might interest his commission. He has also been to Berlin and Leipzig to initiate coordination and cooperation as early as possible.

The French Commission can be seen as an international point of reference where the threads will come together. It envisions corresponding *national* commissions or committees in the individual countries as partners. In several countries, such as the USSR, such committees have already been founded, in others they are in preparation. In our Republic, the President of the Academy of Sciences in Berlin has appointed ten of its full members to a preparatory committee. Its work can be based on the Interdisciplinary Center for Comparative Revolutionary Research at the Karl Marx University in Leipzig (IZR). How this will be done still needs to be conceptually defined. However, there will be a number of things to consider before and during this process:

1. The Paris Commission is a state institution. The government is represented on it in a personal capacity and also relies on its own expert advisors, including in particular the socialist historian and writer Claude Manceron, a friend of the President. The question is to what extent foreign commissions will or will not follow this pattern in their further development.

2. Although Vovelles Commission is an authorized and funded body, it is not the only one to be considered in the preparation. For its part, the Confederation of World Historians (CISH) has an International Commission for the History of the French Revolution. Its competence extends to specialist research. It will not and will not be one of the organizers in 1989, but will be responsible for the profile of the history of the Revolution at international congresses, i.e. first in 1985 and then in 1990 for the follow-up. We recently elected Jean-Rene Suratteau (Dijon) as Soboul's successor as Secretary General in Rome. Professors Zhang Zhilian (Beijing) and Vovelle were also elected as members. In my opinion, this commission also deserves support in its projects, especially as we helped to create it and support it.

3. The *Societe des Etudes robespierristes*, founded by Mathiez in 1908, is the most popular in our country.

best known for its journal *Anna/es historiques de la Revolutionfranraise* (A. H. R. F.), is a sort of private learned society, although its "scientific usefulness" is officially confirmed. In it, too, Secretary General Soboul had to be replaced by Suratteau. As it is far older than the first two bodies mentioned, it has a solid base of revolutionary historians all over the world. It is also the only one that has its own publication organ and also makes its columns available to us. Michel Vovelle succeeded Soboul in the chair with which the Paris Institute for the History of the French Revolution is associated. He has been important as a natural point of contact for our friends at the Freund. We are sure that it will remain so.

4. And finally, the fact that the scientific preparations for the Bicentenaire in France are considerable, especially at the regional provincial and departmental level, is evident from information material published by Vovelle and gratefully made available. It also reveals, among other things, that much – perhaps too much – is expected of the participation of GDR historians, overestimating our available capacities and biological reserves. We must and will endeavor not to disappoint too much. On the other hand, it is important to keep a cool head.

HELMUT BOCK

Rhine-Prussian labor unrest.

From the beginnings of the realization of the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the working classes

Who would not know about the Silesian Weavers' Revolt of 1844! - At a time when the German states were drifting towards a bourgeois-democratic national revolution, many contemporaries were startled, shaken and moved to change their attitudes by yet other trends and events. The rebellion of the starving weavers against their usurious merchants and publishers etched the impression of a new kind of problem into social consciousness: the contradiction between capital and labor, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

This workers' uprising and its polyphonic echo, with which people throughout Germany reacted, pointed beyond the historical moment. The Prussian soldiery, which moved into the weavers' villages specifically to protect the capitalist exploiters, made a murderous example of the proletarians for the first time: they shot the rebels or locked them up. The nobility and bourgeoisie, the two propertied classes in Prussia, then made a nationwide attempt to defuse the early proletarian explosive force by founding "associations for the benefit of the working classes". The poet Heinrich Heine, who elevated the "knife and fork question", the solution to the workers' misery, to the yardstick for the progress of bourgeois society, wrote the most revolutionary of his contemporary poems :

„. . . The shuttle flies, the loom cracks, We
weave diligently day and night – Old Germany,
we weave your shroud,
We weave in the threefold curse, we
weave, we weave!"

Overcoming the progressive illusions of this bourgeois revolutionary democratism, Marx and Engels were just now accomplishing the world-historical ideological change by beginning the development of Scientific Communism. The experiences and consequences of the historic year 1844 remained of incisive significance far into the future.

Nevertheless, the question arises as to whether the universally known and constantly quoted uprising of the Silesian homeworkers was not preceded earlier and elsewhere by workers' rebellions, much more easily even by factory proletarians? And further: whether such early proletarian class struggles did not bring about the public awareness of the conflict between the bourgeoisie and the working classes some two decades before the Silesian uprising and the revolution of 1848?

To ask the question about the early days of German factory workers is to question their former

character according to the beginnings of industrialization. It should be remembered, for example, that the word "factory" in contemporary parlance meant any workshop or plant in which goods are manufactured as a whole, their individual parts from separately from each other, whether by human hands or machines. In accordance¹ In agreement with this, the term "factory worker" in use at the time also meant the worker in these combined production workshops. For it is easy to see that the Industrial Revolution could not immediately bring forth the machine production of goods as ripe fruit, but was dependent on organizational and technical transitions between manual and machine work. Even in the industrial establishments of the most advanced German industrial area, Prussia on the left bank of the Rhine², we therefore still find manual and machine work under one and the same roof some 150 years ago. It is precisely here, in these landscapes and these production sites, that regional historical records record three early proletarian class struggles that provide an answer to our question³ — and deserve to be preserved in German national history and the history of the German labor movement.

¹ *Allgemeine deutsche Real-Encyclopädie für die gebildeten Stände* (Conversations-Lexikon in zwölf Bänden), vol. 4, Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus, 1834, p. 6 f. The definitional text reads: "A *factory* is any place or establishment where goods are manufactured as a whole. The peculiarity of the factory consists in the fact that in it the individual parts of the things to be manufactured are worked separately from each other, whether this is done by human hands or machines; the manufacture differs, as the name already indicates, from the factory in that in it work is done solely by human hands. . . . The owner of such an establishment is called *the factory owner* or manufacturer, the workers in it *factory workers* or manufacturers, and what is worked is called the *product*."

² On the economic conditions of the Rhine-Prussian territories, see *Max Barkhausen*: Staatliche Wirtschaftslenkung und freies Unternehmertum im Westdeutschen und im nord- und südniederländischen Raum bei der Entstehung der neuzeitlichen Industrie im 18. Jahrhundert, in: Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, vol. 45, 1958, p. 168 ff. - On industrialization in the period of interest: *Gerhard Adelmann* (ed.): Der gewerblich-industrielle Zustand der Rheinprovinz im Jahre 1836. Amtliche Übersichten, Bonn 1967; *Helmut Hahn/ Wolfgang Zorn* (eds.): Historische Wirtschaftskarte der Rheinlande um 1820 (Rheinisches Archiv, Bd. 87), Bonn 1973; *F. Restorff*: Topographisch-statistische Beschreibung der königlich-preußischen Rheinprovinzen, Berlin-Stettin 1830; *A. Iphons Thun*: Die Industrie am Niederrhein und ihre Arbeiter. Part 1: Die linksrheinische Textilindustrie (Staats- und sozialwissenschaftliche Forschungen, Bd. 11/2), Leipzig 1879; *Wolfgang Zorn*: Die wirtschaftliche Struktur der Rheinprovinz um 1820, in: Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, vol. 54, 1967, pp. 289ff., 477ff.; *the same*: Preußischer Staat und rheinische Wirtschaft (1818-1830), in: Festschrift für Franz Petri, ed. by G. Droege et al, Bonn 1970, p. 252ff.

³ In contrast to those views that view the social question of factory workers under the far-reaching aspect of "pauperism" in the period from 1820 to the mid-19th century, the factory proletariat should be emphasized as a special class. While "pauperism" revealed the social contradiction between the owner classes embodied by the nobility and bourgeoisie and the working classes uprooted from the feudal estate society as a contemporary contradiction in the "broad sense", the early conflicts between factory owners and factory workers already showed specific expressions of the contradiction between the industrial bourgeoisie and the proletariat working in the emerging large-scale industry. On the dispossessed or "paupers", see *Werner Conze*: Vom "Pöbel" zum "Proletariat". Social-historical preconditions for socialism in Germany, in: Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, vol. 41, 1954, p. 333 ff.; *the same*: Staat und Gesellschaft im deutschen Vormärz 1815-1848, in: Industrielle Welt. Schriftenreihe des Arbeitskreises für moderne Sozialgeschichte, vol. 1, Stuttgart 1970 (2nd ed.), esp. pp. 248ff.; *Carl Jantke/Dietrich Hilger* (eds.): Die

The first of these events was the Eupen machine storm of April 10, 1821.⁴ In the year of the incident, the town of 9,000 inhabitants, which at the time was not far from the Dutch border, was already an industrial town where, according to a district council report, two thirds of the population sought their livelihood as factory workers in a few large textile factories, but not all of them were able to find work due to the difficult economic situation.⁵ The cloth manufacturers Gebrüder Stolle, who employed 700 to 800 wage laborers and had a reputation for exploiting the crisis on the labor market with all kinds of contract tailoring⁶, wanted to have a modern French shearing machine installed there. It was supposed to save the work of 14 manual shearers.⁷ However, the shearers protested and gained the solidarity of their fellow workers, who in turn called on workers from other factories for help. On the morning in question, around 3,000 people stood in front of the cloth manufacturers' premises; 200 to 300 violently forced their way into the yard, smashed the machine parts still packed in crates and threw their debris into a nearby stream. As the local authorities had a number of arrests made, several thousand workers gathered again the following day, threatening other factory owners and demanding the release of the prisoners. They only dispersed following the Prussian district administrator's admonitions that violent self-help was unlawful, but that they could properly present their complaints to the royal authorities so that they could be given a just sentence.

It is the fate of the masses, whose "historical role" is so often and rightly invoked by us, that they remain anonymous in historiography for thousands of years. Because the sources give little evidence of their personal feelings and thoughts, the historian is also condemned to more or less abstract statements. This time, however, our task of investigating the beginnings of an awareness of the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the working classes in Germany requires more precise information. The "Report on the uprising among the factory workers in Eupen", which the local district administrator v. Scheibler published on April 13, 1821

The propertyless. *Der deutsche Pauperismus und die Emanzipationskrise in Darstellungen und Deutungen der zeitgenössischen Literatur*, Munich-Freiburg 1965. - On factory workers, see *Wolfram Fischer: Soziale Unterschichten im Zeitalter der Frühindustrialisierung*, in: *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im Zeitalter der Industrialisierung*, Göttingen 1972, pp. 224ff.; *Jürgen Kuczynski: Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter unter dem Kapitalismus*, vol. 1, Berlin 1961, as well as vol. 8/1960, vol. 18/1963, vol. 19/1968, vol. 20/1969; *Hartmut Zwahr* (ed.): *Die Konstituierung der deutschen Arbeiterklasse von den dreißiger bis zu den siebziger Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1981.

⁴ Cf. *Dieter Dowe: Action and Organization. Arbeiterbewegung, sozialistische und kommunistische Bewegung in der preußischen Rheinprovinz 1820-1852* (Schriftenreihe des Forschungsinstituts der Friedrich Ebert-Stiftung, Vol. 78), Hanover 1970, p. 26 f.; *Martin Henkel/Rolf Taubert: Maschinenstürmer. A Kapitel aus der Sozialgeschichte des technischen Fortschritts*, Frankfurt a. M. 1979, p. 63ff.

⁵ See note 8 below.

⁶ The Stolle brothers repeatedly paid their workers with colonial goods and cloth; moreover, they calculated the wages in Prussian and French money according to an inflated exchange rate.

⁷ It was the newly found Tondeuse helicoïde transversale shearing machine worth over 5000 francs. It was to be installed by a French specialist. - In an official report from the Eupen district administrator dated April 7, 1836, the firm Joh. Christ. Stolle is listed: "518 employed workers, cloth factory with spinning mill of 6 assortments, dyeing mill, 1 steam engine of 12 Horse power." *Gerhard Adelmann* (ed.): *Der gewerblich-industrielle Zustand der Rheinprovinz*, S. 138.

says about the motives of the rebels : "The workers of the Stolle brothers, and others with them, feared that if this machine was set up, several more would soon follow and they would be put out of business in the already not good course of the cloth and Casimir factories."⁸ On the second day of the riot, the royal Prussian government councillor v. Goerschen also rushed to Eupen on behalf of the Aachen district government, where, as part of his duty to report, he not only questioned the representatives of the local authorities about the incidents, but also the workers about their motives. His official report also contains revealing information about the consciousness of the rebelling proletarians: "The Scheerer intend . . . to turn to a King! Hochlöbl. government itself to investigate their complaints. According to the statements made, the rioters believe that they have done no great injustice even by smashing the Scheer machine on their own authority, as they have not committed any excesses and not the slightest thing has been stolen even when removing the crates from Mr. Stolle's house . . . not the slightest further theft was committed, to become partially breadless, or to have to be content with an even lower wage than they may have been granted by Mr. Stolle in particular, as well as by other factory owners from time to time, seems to have caused their decision to be made because of the destruction of that machine . . . the factory workers generally begin to express frankly that they were actually the ones who largely brought about the prosperity of the factory owners, but by no means received appropriate treatment and adequate wages in return - although they believed they could claim both."⁹

It is clear that no guild-minded craftsmen had come into action here who were fighting new forms of production from the standpoint of feudal trade regulations and granted privileges. Here, free wage laborers had provided information about their motives, who were well aware that they were violating the factory owners' property rights; however, they did not consider this to be "a great injustice" because they had not acted as thieves and, moreover, had themselves often enough been cheated out of their just wages. The affected manual shearers and the great mass of those who showed solidarity with them understood that the factory owners wanted to rationalize the jobs away with the help of new machines, burden the remaining workers with further wage cuts and increase profits, which to them, of course, were only visible as "prosperity" and "wealth". So they dared to stage a machine storm against the Stolle entrepreneurs as a precedent for social indignation. Although they allowed themselves to be carried away by spontaneous mass anger, they also believed that they could justify themselves to some extent with arguments before the royal Prussian investigative authorities. After all, the misery that threatened the shearers and their families with dismissal or wage cuts today could be the fate of many others tomorrow!

These social rebels were opposed by capitalist entrepreneurs and Prussian civil servants, whose thoughts and actions also provide us with information about the early degree of awareness of the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the working classes. For the

⁸ King! District Administrator v. Scheibler: Report on the uprising among the factory workers in Eupen. Eupen, April 13, 1821 (Hauptstaatsarchiv Düsseldorf, Regierungsbezirk Aachen, Akte 231, Bl. 34fT.), in : *Martin Henkel/Rolf Taubert : Maschinenstürmer*, p. 67.

⁹ Königl. Regierungsrat v. Goerschen, Aachen, 13 . April 1821 (Düsseldorfer Akte 231, Bl. 24fT.), in : *Ibid*, S. 78. -

bourgeoisie is simply the fact that, without exception, all factory owners with two of their most trusted employees responded to the district administrator's A alarm call to militia" to take up arms as quickly as Together with the gendarmerie they arrested possible. 28 of the unarmed "insurgents".

By contrast, the officials of the "semi-feudal, semi-bureaucratic monarchical regime" acted with obvious remorse.¹¹ District Administrator v. Scheibler was obliged to maintain peace in the district and take action against those who disturbed the peace. He therefore formed the police and civil protection forces, ordered arrests, placated the workers and had "peace" and "order" restored. But he had moral reservations about the economic liberalism that had become legally valid in Prussia as a result of the Stein-Hardenberg reforms a full decade earlier¹² and was now being practised by the entrepreneurs at the expense of the workers. The scruples of this man are reflected in his official report: "It would be desirable that, in this region and perhaps also in other factory areas, no more machines were introduced, which would make many human hands dispensable; because the population is increasing daily¹³ and the sales of the products, on the other hand, cannot increase everywhere in such a proportion that all hands would be employed." However, he added resignedly: "In the meantime, I know of no law by which the introduction of any machine serving a permitted factory could be prohibited." ⁴

The humane conservatism, which in the case of a civil servant guardian of order was of course constantly at odds with his zeal for service, also left its mark in the reports of Government Councillor v. Goerschen. The latter had the task of preserving the reputation of the district government vis-à-vis the government of Prussia as a whole, by dampening the workers' indignation and avoiding the deployment of the military, which would have revealed the weakness of the civil authorities. But when he arrived on site, he formulated his desired rejection of a troop deployment not without sympathy for the workers: „. . . It is not good to stir up the minds of those who are already agitated by the present circumstances¹⁵ and

¹⁰ A citizens' militia had already existed in Eupen before the workers' uprising. However, because it also included workers whose "loyalty to duty" was now questioned by the authorities and the factory owners, the militia was reorganized in the aforementioned manner.

¹¹ As Prussia was undergoing a change in the quality of bourgeois upheaval in society as a whole, we use the term used by Marx and Engels here. *Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels*: Revolution, and Counter-Revolution in Germany, in: MEW, Vol. 8, p. 14.

¹² Under French-Napoleonic rule, a bourgeois-liberal trade law had already become law on the left bank of the Rhine. Its basic principles were also legalized by reformed Prussia from 1814/15. Cf. *Barbara Vogel* (ed.): *Preußische Reformen 1807-1820* (Neue wissenschaftliche Bibliothek 96, Geschichte), Königstein/Ts. 19 80.

¹³ During the period from 1816 to 1865, the population in the whole of Prussia increased from 10400000 to 19,445,000 (growth rate 87 percent) and in the Rhine Province from 1871,000 to 3379,000 (growth rate 81 percent). On the connection between this explosive growth and the new "way of population" that preceded feudalism, see *Thomas Nipperdey*: *Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866. Bürgerwelt und starker Staat*, Munich 19 83, p. 102 ff.

¹⁴ Quoted from *Martin Henkel/Rolf Tauber*: *Maschinenstürmer*, p. 67.

¹⁵ Statistics on the real incomes of German workers indicate a significant rise in the cost of living and a simultaneous fall in wages in the years 1820 to 1822. Index of the cost of living (19 13 = 100): 1820 - 42, 1821 - 46, 1822 - 48. Index of real income (1913 = 100): 1820 - 64, 1821 - 59, 1822 - 56, after which there was an improvement until 1826, see *Thomas Nipperdey*: *Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866*, p. 225.

this would create a new burden for the poorer inhabitants, whose situation is already very oppressive due to the (one word illegible) factories"¹⁶ About the problem the introduction of new machines, his final report states: "The truth remains However, many factory workers are destined for an unpleasant fate. To what extent it might be advisable, in view of the large number of breadless workers and the death of the factories, to make the introduction of new, labor-saving machines more difficult - I leave it at that — but it would always be good at least not to encourage their introduction . . ." ¹⁷ These rather meandering concerns at least end with the advice that the intentions of other factory owners to introduce new shearing machines, which have already become known, should be met with some caution.

However, the Aachen district government was less concerned with the social security of the proletarians than with the political peace of its territory. For this reason, on April 13, 1821, it had a message written by itself inserted in the "Stadt Aachener Zeitung", which reported the incident in an optimistic tone and, by its own admission, scrupulously avoided "such incidents to the night axe of the Prussian governorate in the most glaring terms". Gouvernement in the most glaring

¹⁶ King! Regierungsrat v. Goerschen, Eupen, April 12, 1821 (Düsseldorfer Akte 231, Bl. 18), quoted from *Martin Henkel/Rolf Taubert* : *Maschinenstürmer*, p. 71 f. On the situation of the Rhine-Prussian factories, see below the argumentation of the main defense counsel before the Cologne jury court of 1831.

¹⁷ The same, Aachen, April 13, 1821 (Düsseldorfer Akte 231, **Bl.** 26), *ibid.* p. 78 — Against such reservations on the part of members of the state bureaucracy, the economic theorists of liberalism propagated that the introduction of machines was necessary and promising despite the temporary impoverishment of the workers. In the "Conversations-Lexikon" published by Brockhaus in Leipzig in 1820, it says under the heading "Machines in factories": "The breadlessness of whole classes of citizens, which now and then causes the introduction of factory machines, has in our days, especially among the great masses, given rise to prejudices . . ." (Here follows a cogent assessment of the superiority of Machine work compared to manual work. One hundred people in machine spinning, for example, produced more and better goods than 3000 of the most skilled manual spinners). It is undeniable that the introduction of these machines will leave many workers engaged in industrial production without a livelihood, and that they will be embarrassed when the opportunity arises to earn money elsewhere, but this evil can only be temporary and is far outweighed by the advantages it brings to the nation; for the low prices of commodities brought about by machinery usually have such an important influence on the increased consumption of the same that within a short time not only those who were at first put out of work, but many others, who have received their earnings by the same means, will be able to make a profit.

A government which, out of concern for the breadlessness of some of its subjects, wanted to place obstacles in the way of the introduction of factory machinery or even prohibit it, would not only completely miss its purpose, but would even make the problem worse ; for such a measure could in no way prevent the use of the machines abroad, the foreign goods would therefore soon drive the domestic ones from the market owing to their lower price and better quality, and because even the workers who would have been employed by the machines would then be lost, far more subjects would have to go without bread. A wise and active government cannot, by the way, lack the means to nip in the bud the evils that are inevitable at the beginning with the introduction of machines. Since the previous occupation of the citizens, who have been put out of work here, consisted largely of manual labor, the state administration always has a wide field in which to use its productive powers; for where would the country be found in which institutions promoting the common good, **such as** canals, highways, etc., could not still be built today? Supplements to the *Conversations-Lexikon für die Besitzer der ersten, zweiten, third and fourth editions*. Containing the most important new articles and improvements of the fifth edition Edition, Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1820, p. 45 f.

colors".¹⁸ The text therefore reads : "Eupen, April 12, 1821: The riots caused by some idle factory workers in the local town on the occasion of the intended installation of a new type of Scheer machine have already been settled, so that public peace has been completely restored. This is due both to the prudent action of the official authorities and to the activity of the citizens of Militz and the gendarmerie. The instigators and participants in the riots have already been arrested and handed over to the courts, so that security, peace and order are everywhere."¹⁹

No matter how softly these sentences were worded, they nevertheless gave the public a message about the social outrage that had occurred. According to the special Rhineland Prussian Code of Criminal Procedure, this even had to be tried before a jury, which handed down its verdict on February 9, 1822: it sentenced a cloth shearer to five years' hard labor and a fine of 53 thalers, four other cloth shearers and a factory worker to five years' imprisonment.²⁰

As far as we know, seven years passed on the left bank of the Rhine before a second event of the early proletarian class struggle again made contemporaries sit up and take notice: the Krefeld silk weavers' riots on November 4 and 5, 1828.²¹ This town was a textile center that still had 8,000 inhabitants in 1804, but had increased fivefold by the middle of the century²² - we would therefore like to assume around 20,000 people, mainly wage laborers, at the time of the incidents. In the face of fierce competition from the Lyon and Zurich silk industries²³, 14 to 15 Krefeld factory owners decided to leave,

¹⁸ This version was supported by the Aachen government councillor v. Rappard, who wrote the newspaper report himself. Cf. **Martin Henkel/Rolf Taubert** : *Maschinenstürmer*, p. 74.

¹⁹ Facsimile, *ibid.*

²⁰ Excerpt from the verdict (*Düsseldorfer Akte* 23 1), communicated by **Dieter Dowe** : *Aktion und Organization*, p. 26, note 20.

²¹ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 33 ff. ; **Heinrich Rösen** : *Der Aufstand der Krefelder Seidenfabrikarbeiter 1828 und die Bildung einer "Sicherheitswache"*. A documentation, in: *Die Heimat*, vol. 36, 1965, p. 32ff.

²² The population statistics of German cities record around 8,000 inhabitants for Krefeld according to the 1804 census and around 40,000 according to the 1852 census (average annual increase: 3.4 percent). Cf. **Thomas Nipperdey** : *Deutsche Geschichte 1800-1866*, p. 113 . Other regional historical data in **Johann Georg v. Viebahn** (ed.) : *Statistik und Topographie des Regierungsbezirks Düsseldorf*. With the approval of the Royal Statistical Office, Part 1: The natural history, regional history and folklore, Part 2: The statistical economic and distance table and the alphabetical index of place names, 2 vols., Düsseldorf 1836.

²³ A majority of the Krefeld silk manufacturers applied to the Prussian Ministry of Trade for an increase in import duties for foreign silk products. They justified their difficult competitive situation with the difference in economic structures. The Lyon manufacturers were in fact only commission agents who placed their orders with workshop owners (masters) and did not have to worry about paying the silk weavers because the latter were paid by their masters according to fluctuating sales. sales of goods. The Italian manufacturers, especially in Turin, proceeded in a similar way. Although the foreman system did not exist in the Zurich factories, only half of the Krefeld wages were paid there. In Krefeld, on the other hand, each factory owner employed his own workers, who received a fixed wage, graded according to masters and journeymen, and were not yet dependent on the changing economic situation. **Heinrich Rösen** : *Der Aufstand*, p. 39f. — In the official overview of the district of Krefeld of 24 March 1836, 39 silk factories with 10,000 workers and 4,900 specialized looms are mentioned for the town of Krefeld alone. The monetary value of the annual production is given as 365,8880 Reichstalers. **Gerhard Adelman** (ed.): *Der gewerblich industrielle Zustand der Rheinprovinz*, p. 74 f.

The weavers of plain silk cloth were to receive on average only 85 percent of their wages, and to prevent them from resorting to layoffs and job changes, the new rates were to be declared valid on one and the same day in the entire Krefeld area. The weavers reacted to the employer's intention by convening a meeting, but this was prevented by the authorities due to the ban on coalitions. When the wage lists were posted by the factory owners on November 4, several hundred proletarians gathered together and spent two evenings carrying out violent raids on the offices and houses of the allied wage earners.

The capitalists and their followers armed themselves again with the permission of the authorities. Together with the police and a cavalry detachment brought in from the provincial capital, they suppressed the outraged workers, put their "ringleaders" on trial again and remained under arms for three months as a "security guard" – to protect "property" and public "order". This time, the state bureaucracy was visibly closer to the liberalist business interests. The provincial government in Düsseldorf, which had promised to hear the workers under the pressure of the unrest, did not receive their spokesperson. It argued in a report that it could neither force the factory owners to pay higher wages nor to manufacture unprofitable products.²⁴ The proletarians, on the other hand, were left with the fact that the weavers in Elberfeld and Mühlheim am Rhein were far worse off.

The third notable event was the workers' rebellion on August 30, 1830 in Aachen, the border town and district metropolis with around 40,000 inhabitants²⁵, where the Prussian administration counted 29.8 percent factory workers in the city and 13.3 percent in the surrounding villages in the following year²⁶. As we have already reported on the incidents in detail elsewhere²⁷, a summary with a focus on specific aspects must suffice here; it does, however, illustrate how quickly the class struggle situation in the Rhineland Prussian regions intensified within a few years.

The Aachen indignados were textile workers producing by machine, whose wages had been arbitrarily cut by some factory owners through fines, as well as craftsmen and day laborers, who felt threatened by the superior competition of the factory industry.

²⁴ Letter from the provincial government of Düsseldorf dated December 15, 1828, reported in : *Ibid.*, p. 39 f., 52.

²⁵ From 1800 to 1852, Aachen's population grew from 27,000 to 53,000 (average annual growth of 1.5 percent). *Thomas Nipperdey : German History 1800-1866*, p. 113.

²⁶ Communicated in *Eberhard Kliwer : Die Julirevolution und das Rheinland*, Phil. Diss. Cologne 1963, p. 65, note.

2 Cf. the very detailed "Industrial Statistics" of the city district of Aachen from August 1, 1836, which alone counts 10 024 inhabitants who find their livelihood in the cloth and casimir factories. The annual production of this branch alone is given as 3 million Reichstalers. *Gerhard Adelman (ed.): Der-gewerblich-industrielle Zustand der Rheinprovinz*, p. 92 ff.

²⁷ *Helmut Bock : The illusion of freedom. Deutsche Klassenkämpfe zur Zeit der französischen Julirevolution 1830 bis 1831*, Berlin 1980, p. 54 ff.; *the same : Maschinenstürmer in Aachen. Social rebellion against the industrial bourgeoisie*, in: *Unzeit des Biedermeiers. Historische Miniaturen zum Deutschen Vormärz 1830 bis 1848*, Leipzig-Jena-Berlin 1985, p. 22 ff. (Cologne 1986, p. 22 ff.). Cf. also *the account of the proceedings before the Assises of Cologne concerning the participants in the riot that took place in Aachen on 30 August 1830*, including the act of accusation, the interrogation of witnesses, the justification of the accused, the defence, the summary and the verdict; together with concluding remarks by J. Venedey, Cologne 1831; anonymous : *Die Aache ner Auführer, ihre Verbrechen und deren Bestrafung*, Cologne 1831; *Dieter Dowe : Aktion und Organisation*, s. 28 ff.

social existence was threatened.²⁸ The long-simmering resentment of these working people radicalized under the external influence of the Paris and Brussels revolutions of July and August 1830. However, a very direct external impetus came from the proletarian

The riots in the textile center of Verviers, on the other side of the border, where Belgian workers demolished the factories and houses of capitalist entrepreneurs. Informed and fueled by all these events, the people of Aachen rioted on the said day.

August 30 with the intention of a machine storm. "Machinery contributes to the fact that factory workers earn nothing, and it has an equally damaging effect on professionals; it would be best to destroy the machines!" the cloth weaver leading the discussion is said to have shouted into the crowd.³ And so these social rebels marched against the most advanced capitalists in terms of economics and production technology. They chased away the police and a military detachment, launched two attacks on the city prison under the symbol of a red flag in order to free the prisoners, and destroyed the house of the Cockerill family of entrepreneurs, widely known in France, Holland, Belgium and Prussia³¹, who seemed to them to be the personification of mechanical engineering, the threat of industrialization and the wealth that would result from it. Hundreds or more people raged in the large building, 3,000 to 4,000 witnesses stood on the street. The proletarian rebels, who wanted to set an example themselves, sought to punish all exploitative, wealth-accumulating factory owners and merchants by destroying Cockerill's property.

The state of consciousness of the workers is documented in detail in the files of the Cologne jury court. When the crowd insulted one of the factory owners because of the wage deductions, he asked the complainant, who was a stranger to him, how he could complain about deductions? To which the textile worker replied :

"If I don't work for you, I'll work for someone else! . . . If it's not you,

²⁸ For the years around 1830, the statistics on the real incomes of German workers again show a significant rise in the cost of living with a simultaneous fall in wages. Cost of living index (1913 = 100): 1827 – 40, 1828 – 49, 1829 – 46, 1830 – 51, 1831 – 50, 1832 – 50.

Real income (1913 = 100): 1827 – 65, 1828 – 53, 1829 – 59, 1830 – 53, 1831 – 54, 1832 – 54.

After that, minor improvements were made until 1841/42. Thomas Nipperdey : *Deutsche Geschichte 1800 bis 1866*, p. 225.

²⁹ On the general effects of the July Revolution, see Manfred Kossok/ Werner Loch (eds.) : *Die französische Julirevolution von 1830 und Europa*, Berlin 1985.

³⁰ Description of the negotiations before the Assises of Cologne, p. 163.

³¹ The Cockerill family was an internationally renowned mechanical engineering and manufacturing dynasty of the modern industrial capitalist type. Its founder, William Cockerill (born 1757) from Haslington in Lancashire, England, left his homeland in 1797, founded his own factory for steam and textile machines in Verviers just one year later, then in Liège, and was regarded as a leading industrialist in the Napoleonic era.

"Supplier of textile machinery to the German Empire", who employed a large number of workers. He also introduced the first English-style spinning machines in Aachen in 1807 and the modern weaving machine in 1812. The resulting industrial revolution quickly gave rise to 93 cloth and casimir factories with 1358 looms in Aachen's cloth industry, many of them from Cockerill's workshops. In 1817, his sons founded an engineering factory with puddling and coke ovens in Seraing Castle, the production of which further mechanized the Aachen cloth industry. Charles-James Cockerill (born 1787 in Haslington) lived in Aachen from 1825, and his father also lived with him. Cf. Clemens Bruckner : *Zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Regierungsbezirks Aachen* (Schriften zur rheinisch-westfälischen Wirtschaftsgeschichte, vol. 16), Cologne 1967, p. 158 ff.

it's someone else, enough, I can no longer live!"³² The answer was an expression of an early proletarian consciousness that judged this factory owner not as an individual but as the representative of an entire class. "The factory owners are doing it too badly, the deductions are too great - but things must change, everything must go haywire for once!" said this man a little later, at the moment when the guns were being taken up and under the red flag.³ His companions grumbled about the high prices of bread, the slaughter and meal taxes, the elegant carriages that the entrepreneurs had bought from the wage deductions, the machines that were driving down wages that used to be higher. "Freedom! Equality!" was the cry as soon as the first shots were fired by the factory owners and the standard-bearer collapsed dead. The "poor class", declared a white washerman, was oppressed by the "rich" and did not earn enough to buy their daily bread; if he had a hundred guns, everyone would earn

"Rich" to be shot with it.³

4

This was not simply a revolt against individual entrepreneurs, but a spontaneous but spiritually alert rebellion against entrepreneurship. The wage laborers, who in the system of capitalist exploitation were subject to the competitive struggle of their factory owners and manufacturers, merchants and master craftsmen, saw the profit-seeking use of machines as the main cause of their increased workload and loss of wages, their impending unemployment and impoverishment. They therefore believed that they could free themselves from the unbearable conditions of work and competition through the machine storm. In this way, of course, they resisted technological progress in production - a resistance that, on the surface, earned them the accusation of "reactionary" behavior. In fact, however, the struggle against the machines, or more correctly: the manufacturers and owners of these modern means of production, was an immature expression of rebellion against the working and living conditions of expanding industrial capitalism. The machine-based means of production did not make work easier for the proletarians, but rather made competition tougher and increased the degree of exploitation.

This early proletarian class struggle, which in the form of the Aachen workers' rebellion heralded the entire popular movements that took place in Germany in 1830/31 under the influence of the French July Revolution³⁵, now became an indispensable accompaniment to all revolutionary-democratic activities. This meant that the still existing main social contradiction between feudalism and capitalism became increasingly intermingled with the contradiction between capital and labor. It was a new, complex dialectic of contradiction, for which the classist combatants and observant contemporaries sought terms that no longer referred to the traditional opposition between the nobility on the one hand and the bourgeoisie and the masses on the other. Instead, the verbal antinomies were called "rich" and "poor", "wealth" and "poverty" - they were not only used in the daily battles of the day.

³² *Description of the negotiations before the Assises of Cologne*, pp. 5 f., 9, 54, 187.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

³⁵ *Helmut Bock*: Die deutschen Klassenkämpfe 1830 /31 unter dem Einfluß der französischen Julirevolution, in: Die französische Julirevolution von 1830 und Europa, p. 183 ff. ; *derselbe*: Die Klassenkämpfe unter dem Einfluß der französischen Julirevolution und die Weiterführung der bürgerlichen Umwälzung (1830 bis 1832), in: Deutsche Geschichte, Vol. 4: Die bürgerliche Umwälzung von 1789- bis 1871, Berlin 1984, p. 182 ff. (Cologne 1984, p. 182 ff.).

by rebellious workers and agitating owners, but also in the revolutionary-democratic literature by left-wing intellectuals such as Ludwig Börne, Heinrich Heine, Georg Büchner articulated. The contrast between the "rich" and the "poor" was the temporary, still clumsy formula of the contradiction that was finally to be consciously grasped and assessed by the communists in the run-up to the 48 revolution as antagonism between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

As is well known, the Aachen factory owners were already behaving in accordance with this antagonistic contradiction in the summer of 1830. Because the regional government authorities, warned by the Western European revolutions, refused to deploy armed forces this time for fear of revolutionary consequences, the bourgeoisie took the initiative to arm themselves and "defend themselves". They occupied the military barracks, seized the guns located there and shot ruthlessly at the rebellious workers and into the crowd, killing at least ten people and injuring 40. An unprecedented event! This civil war force thus waged the armed class struggle against the proletariat with its own hands; in this way it also called upon the Prussian state bureaucracy to protect public safety and the legally guaranteed "property". In fact, the Aachen authorities now authorized the rapid deployment of "citizen companies" with a strength of 1,200 men³⁷, who hunted down the proletarian "rabble" and "lumpenpack". After the workers' rebellion was publicized by the *Aachener Zeitung* and other German press organs³⁸, the citizens' armament was immediately imitated in many places in the Rhine province and Westphalia. On September 4, 1830, 2,000 infantry, cavalry and artillery men entered the city of Aachen, and the Prussian government also sent three army corps of 45,000 men to the Rhineland³⁹ in order to quell the incendiary fire of the uprising that flew across the border from Belgium with the armed fist of militarism. However, in the same weeks, further unrest broke out among the working classes in Berlin and Silesia.⁴⁰ On October 4, the Prussian Ministry of the Interior even issued a special permit to arm the bourgeoisie in all cities of the monarchy where there were no military garrisons: „ . . . In order to maintain public peace and to protect property, municipal security associations are to be formed from reliable, well-meaning local inhabitants who are prepared to defend themselves. . ." The "class of the people who live on their daily earnings", on the other hand, were emphatically excluded from this.⁴¹

³⁶ Cf. Hartwig Brandt (ed.): *Restauration und Frühliberalismus 1814-1840 (Quellen zum politischen Denken der Deutschen im 19. und 20. Century. Freiherr-vom-Stein-Gedächtnisausgabe, vol. 3)*, Darmstadt 1979, p. 254 ff.

³⁷ Eberhard Kliever : *The July Revolution and the Rhineland*, p. 29.

³⁸ The "*Stadt Aachener Zeitung*" published a detailed report on September 1, 1830. The "*Vossische Zeitung*" published in Berlin, for example, adopted this on September 7 and filled the first page with it; it had already published the Aachen mayor's call to arm the citizens against proletarian "mutineers" in a previous issue.

³⁹ Eberhard Kliever : *Die Julirevolution und das Rheinland*, p. 49 – King Friedrich Wilhelm I II also praised the Aachen bourgeoisie by instructing the Chief President of the Rhine Province to "show my particular satisfaction to the bourgeoisie" (*Staatsarchiv Koblenz 403/2438*, quoted from Dieter Dowe: *Aktion und Organisation*, p. 29, note 51).

⁴⁰ Helmut Bock : *The illusion of freedom*, p. 169ff.

⁴¹ Central State Archives, Hist. Dept. II, Merseburg, Rep. 77, Tit. 506, No. 2, Vol. 1.

During these same weeks, the Aachen merchant and later "revolutionary minister" David Hansemann wrote a memorandum that he addressed to the King of Prussia in December 1830.⁴² While he demanded a constitutional monarchy for his class and unity under the Hohenzollern crown for the whole of Germany, he denounced the "rebellion of the lower classes" as the "first" of all "dangers" that "threaten the state".⁴³ In contrast, the order-loving and state-preserving role of the bourgeoisie could be emphasized - even to the detriment of the nobility, who still enjoyed a number of privileges in Prussia: "The middle class in particular, because it includes the respected merchants and factory owners, provides the throne with more elements of stability and order than the actual estate of the landowners.... The latter is far less at risk in the event of war, civil unrest and changes of government than the merchant and manufacturer. The trade of the latter then suffers in most cases a very serious and often long-lasting disturbance . . ."⁴⁴ It was only natural that this writer of bourgeois liberalism should not fail to emphasize the suppression of the workers' revolt in his city as proof of the loyalty and hostility to revolution of his class. "The Belgian revolution began with nothing more than a mob riot . . . And who can determine the consequences that the mob riot in Aachen could have had if Aachen's citizens had not combined loyalty with determination and quickly put a stop to the mischief?"⁴⁵

The next year, 1831, the brief history of the Rhineland Prussian workers' unrest described here culminated before the bar of the Cologne jury court. There, where in no less than six long weeks the first German show trial of the aristocratic and bourgeois owner classes against the early proletariat took place, 74 of the Aachen "rioters" were brought to trial.⁴⁶ The state prosecutor wanted to attribute the workers' uprising that had occurred to a "political assassination" and enforce the imposition of death sentences. In contrast, however, the chief prosecutor interpreted the facts as a social uprising caused by industrialization and the simultaneous impoverishment of the working class: "In Aachen, as in other factory towns, there was a prosperous middle class before the introduction of machinery. There were many factory owners who, limited to a few looms, spread prosperity in their own families and provided some workers with a decent living.

⁴² Memorandum by D. Hansemann on Prussia's situation and politics, Aachen 1830, December 31, in: *Rheinische Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte der politischen Bewegung 1830-1850*, collected and edited by Joseph Hansen, vol. 1 : 1830 -1845 (Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde, vol. XXXVI), Essen a. d. Ruhr 1919, pp. !!! ff.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁴⁶ The indictment lists 32 industrial proletarians (spinners, weavers, cloth dyers, cloth shearers, cloth pressers, needlers and winders), 32 craftsmen (tailors, shoemakers, locksmiths, blacksmiths, bricklayers, lime and brick burners, tinsmiths, clockmakers, basket makers) and ten day laborers (sack carriers). Forty people were under the age of 21. See *the account of the hearings before the Assises of Cologne*, p. 3 ff. The young age of the accused is not surprising when one considers that factory proletarians had been exploited since childhood at that time and that the average life expectancy in the Rhine province was 29.8 years. Cf. *Thomas Nipperdey : German History 1800-1866*, p. 106.

could create. With the formation of larger factories, those individual looms have disappeared. As a result of this and of mechanical engineering, a part of the numerous working class has lost its source of food, or has been reduced to a very small income, while the necessities of life themselves have risen in price."⁴⁷

This humane lawyer also criticized the conditions of production and work in the factories: "It arouses painful feelings when one considers that a man of his sprightly age has to work the whole week from six in the morning to eight in the evening with one hour's interruption and can hardly earn enough to live on . . . The factory owners are not to be blamed for not increasing this wage, because the business conditions probably do not permit it. But if a factory-owner has the idea of reducing these wages by deductions, which he calls penalties; if he seeks advantages in this way, and harms a poor fellow-man who has to earn his own and perhaps a numerous family's *dry bread* with sour sweat, this is callous inhuman treatment . . ."⁴⁸ The wage laborers should therefore be protected against the arbitrariness of the factory owners! "If work has been done, the worker has *earned his due wages*; these wages *must* be paid to *him*, and if the worker has really spoiled something through his fault, the factory owner may seek his compensation by lawful legal means."⁴⁹ With these words, the defense counsel recommended to the judge and the jury an assessment of capitalist exploitation relationships in terms of contract law, which he did not question in principle. The property guardians of the Rhineland judiciary, which was celebrated as liberal, rejected the constructed offense of "assassination" and the death sentence based on it. But they voted for punishments that were still extremely severe: the majority of the accused proletarians were sentenced to exemplary prison terms and forced labor of between life and ten years.

Finally, if we look briefly at the beginnings of the socio-political reflections that accompanied the events and problems described, we find Hegel on the Berlin catheder in the winter semester of 1830/31: at lectures on the philosophy of world history. The man who had just courageously celebrated the French Revolution of 1889 as a "glorious sunrise", a time of "sublime emotion" in which it seemed "as if the real reconciliation of the divine with the world had only just come"⁵⁰ — nevertheless, as soon as he came to speak of the July Revolution, he let an unmistakably resigned minor resonate. "At last, after forty years of wars and immeasurable confusion, an old heart could rejoice to see an end to them and a sense of satisfaction."⁵¹ Insofar as the bourgeois constitution had been restored in France, at least "one main point had been balanced", one conflict had been resolved. But liberalism, Hegel emphasized, created new problems. "Not satisfied that reasonable rights, freedom of the person and of property are valid, that there is an organization of the state and within it circles of bourgeois life which themselves carry on business.

⁴⁷ *Description of the negotiations before the Assises of Cologne*, p. 158.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

⁵⁰ *Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel: Lectures on the Philosophy of History* (Werke – Suhrkamp, vol. 12), Frankfurt a. M. 1970, p. 529.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 534.

have to lead . . . *liberalism* opposes all this with the principle of atoms, of individual wills . . .⁵² In this way, a permanent "movement and unrest" arises, a constantly new "collision".

This "classic" of humanist thought, who taught progress towards bourgeois society, who interpreted this very progress idealistically in the fiction of an active "world spirit", but judged it politically correct as a historical necessity: why was he now depressed by "movement and unrest"? Why did he warn of the consequences? - His answer was already to be found in the lectures on the philosophy of law, which had been delivered in full for the last time in the winter semester of 1824/25 : as bourgeois society is "in unhindered activity", with "advancing population and industry", "the accumulation of wealth increases .

. on the one hand, and on the other the *isolation* and *limitation* of particular labour and thus the *dependence* and *misery* of the class bound to this labour".⁵³ Hegel's thoughts on the economy of bourgeois society were still primarily rooted in the theory of the Englishman Adam Smith, who at the end of the age of manufacture had only surveyed and summarized the pre-industrial development of capitalism in an abstract manner. The most important insights of David Ricardo, the advanced theorist of capitalist industrial society and its economic laws, such as the production of value and surplus value, remained closed to him

- just as it must be borne in mind that even the mature Hegel was still a child of a time in which only the cyclical crisis of 1825 indicated that industrial capitalism was beginning to move on its own foundations.⁵⁴ But the philosopher, who thematized the accumulation of wealth and the simultaneously growing hardship of the class bound to wage labour, nevertheless processed the early experiences of the transition from manual to machine labour. He saw that "man . . . put the *machine* in its place"⁵⁵ and, according to one of the surviving lecture transcripts, even described the essence of this irreversible process: "The spiritual result is that man can let the machine, weapons (more correctly: water), steam, fire, etc. take his place and only supervises this."⁵⁶

However, he also saw the extent to which this "perfecting of work" came at the price of negative effects, two of which he explicitly mentioned. Firstly, he criticized the monotony of factory work, which increased the division of labour, simplified individual work, made those employed in this work overly specialized, mentally constricted and extremely dependent: „. . . They become completely one-sided and therefore have hardly any other way of earning their living, because they are only immersed in this one work, are only used to it, they thus become the most dependent people of all, and the mind becomes dull."⁵⁷ Secondly, he was concerned about how the increasing spread of machines was now leading to the impoverishment of the proletarians and their latent willingness to

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ *Derselbe* : Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts oder Naturrecht und Staatswissenschaft im Grundrisse. After the edition by Eduard Gans ed. by Hermann Klenner, Berlin 1981 , p. 268.

⁵⁴ *Hermann Lehmann* : Hegels "Rechtsphilosophie" in der Geschichte der politischen Ökonomie, in: Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte, IV/1984, p. I 75 ff.

⁵⁵ *Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel*: Fundamentals of the Philosophy of Right, p. 233.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 485.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 484 f.

Indignation grew : "The workers, especially the factory workers who lose their subsistence through the machines, easily become dissatisfied . . ." ⁵⁸

How alienating all this was to the philosophical pioneer of bourgeois society! Liberalism – as capitalist theory – might now appear to him as the concept of an anarchic unleashing of economic-social explosive forces, whereby forty years of promises of freedom, equality and harmony of interests proved to be pure illusion. Liberalism – as capitalist practice – gave him the insight that the opposition of the classes would deepen, the danger of social eruption intensify. "The important question of how poverty is to be remedied is one that is of particular concern and torment to modern societies," he formulated, with an anxiously critical view of England and even the less developed Germany. ⁵⁹ He was unable to point to a solution based on the inherent power of bourgeois society. "The question of how to help poverty" remained "very difficult to answer". ⁶⁰ For with "the excess of wealth", "bourgeois society is not rich enough . . . to control the excess of poverty and the creation of the mob" ! ⁶¹

It was not in the material process of society, in the self-movement of capitalism of free competition, but in the state that Hegel sought the force that would be able to counter hostile "Partial interests" should represent a higher "overall interest", balance opposites, enforce a fixed order, realize reason and justice. But this was again a humanist dream that did not even find its realization in the states of the bourgeoisie. How much less so in Prussian absolutism, to which Hegel imputed his own reason with the expectation that Prussia would soon rise to become a constitutional state: in reality, this state of Hohenzollerns and Junkers resisted the political changes desired by Hegel or even by the liberal Hansemann. It denied the economic bourgeoisie the state constitution and parliament – but allowed workers' rebellions to be shot up in future.

In the dilemma of having philosophically brought about bourgeois society, but negating the reality of life that had just unfolded and instead wanting to fall back on the idealized state, the crisis and end of German bourgeois-humanist "classicism" was revealed. ⁶² This was an intellectual reflection of the above-mentioned complicated dialectic of contradictions, in which the bourgeoisie still had to stand politically against the nobility, but the working classes began to take a social stand against the bourgeoisie. ⁶³ Thus the period around 1830 in Germany formed the stage of a development that refers less to the bourgeois preliminaries and ideals of 1889 and more to the Lyons and Silesian weavers' revolts and the social problem of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of 1848.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 485.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 50 6.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

⁶² *Wolfgang Heise : Hegel and the July Revolution, in : Unzeit des Biedermeiers, p. 56ff.*

⁶³ In view of the limited space available, we restrict contemporary reflection on the workers' question in Germany to Hegel, while the socio-political discussion between 1830 and 1840 was differentiated and developed in conservative, liberal, revolutionary-democratic views.

Workers and intellectuals in the "Archaeology of proletarian brainwork"

Recent Weiding literature has shed light on the relationship between workers and intellectuals in the labour movement.¹ Schäfer's "Archaeology of proletarian intellectual work" attempts to crystallize the peculiarities of proletarian thinking as a subspecies of "erudite thinking". However, the study does not treat *proletarian* thinking in comparison to the emancipatory thinking of the bourgeoisie, nor primarily as an alternative to established *bourgeois* thinking, but as a contrast to abstract "scholarly thinking". From the outset, this formalizes content-related viewpoints on the structural problem. However, what is important for understanding the real

History and the present are worse: the difference between "unscientific knowledge form of the - unlearned thinkers" of the working class and the "scientific form theory" of the "great classics" has hardened into a hermetic wall of separation. The dispute of 1846 in Brussels, between the communists around Marx on the one hand and Weiding on the other.

¹ Briefly, in connection with Weiting's dispute in Brussels, *Wolf-Schäfer*, *Proletarisches Denken und kritische Wissenschaft*, in : *Entfremdete Wissenschaft*, ed. by Gernot Böhme and Michael von Engelhardt, Frankfurt/M. 1979; slightly specified and modified by the same author, *Die unvertraute Moderne. Historische Umrisse einer anderen Sozialgeschichte*, Frankfurt/M. 1985 ; in a different dimension in *J.,othar Knatz*, *Utopie und Wissenschaft im frühen deutschen Sozialismus. Theoriebildung und Wissenschafts begriff bei Wilhelm Weilling*, Frankfurt/M. 1984; fundamentally in *Hans Jörg Sandkühler*, *Geschichte, gesellschaftliche Bewegung und Erkenntnisprozeß*, Frankfurt/M. 1984.

² In contrast to the academic theorization of scholarly thought, Schäfer identifies six characteristics for his category of proletarian, "unscholarly thought": proletarian thought speaks
1. "from below for below"; it forms itself 2. as "collective thinking"; it expresses itself 3. in affective terms or in an "associative and emotional language"; it is 4. interest-oriented; 5. not oriented towards theoretical knowledge, but practice-oriented; it refers 6. normatively to the good of society, while the learned thinker develops his theoretical knowledge from above, individually, value-neutral and detached from interests. Cf. *Schäfer*, *Proletarisches Denken*, pp. 192 ff., 197, 202 fT., 207 ff., 210 f. ; *Unvertraute Moderne*, pp. 79 ff. A number of things should be said about the individual antinomies: The dividing line between above
for above and below for below is not that simple; and collective form excludes the individuality of the thought process just as little as the individual excludes its interweaving with social and practical interests. The bourgeois encyclopedists — all scholars — had their salons. On the other hand, even politically organized workers do not think in chants! Neither Sieyes nor Marx can be denied the reference to interests and practice or the metaphorical nature of language.

³ *Derselbe*, *Proletarisches Denken*, p. 183 f., 187 f.; also in the recently published new version it says: "Learned and unlearned thinking are mutually exclusive. The gulf that separates the philosophical and proletarian workers' movements is almost insurmountable. The world on the other side is almost unknown . . . a cultural boundary" ; *derselbe*, *Unfamiliar Modernes*, p. 80.

is regarded as a historical precedent for the incompatibility of philosophical and proletarian forms of knowledge and for the "rift that separates philosophers and workers in the workers' movement".⁴ In Schäfer's light, the struggle of German communists at the time over questions of strategy and tactics in the impending bourgeois revolution appears as a trivial power struggle for the claim to leadership.⁵

In such a spectrum, the opposition between capital and labor, between bourgeoisie and proletariat, which was already reflected in early German proletarian thought in the 1930s at the latest, shifts to a partial aspect of class division: the opposition between mental and physical labor. This shifts the perspective.⁶ The contrast between the intelligentsia and the proletariat appears as a social contrast par excellence. The gulf between intellectual and physical labour, which the politically organized workers of the 1930s and 1940s sought to overcome programmatically and had already begun to do so practically in their enormous educational efforts, is considered unbridgeable. Whether maii wants it or not, this sets the theoretical course for an anti-scientific interpretation of the attitude of the spontaneous workers' movement and suggests a fundamental hatred of the workers as scholars. Schäfer wants his conception to be understood as an appeal against the "trial" "which Marx and Engels initiated against the first social and intellectual movement of the German workers and which is still being negotiated today in the annals of social history and the history of ideas".⁷ He wants to denounce the "suppression and repression of *unlearned* thinking" with which Marx in 1846 "made Weitling's 'ignorance' into a

⁴ Schäfer criticizes "the suppression of proletarian brainwork" by "the learned development ... of Marx's theory" as "the small mistake at the beginning" and notes "the insensitivity of learned thinking to the form of knowledge of unlearned thinking". For Marx of 1846, as for Lassalle, "the proletariat . . . headless and mindless, nothing more than physical force." *The same*, Proletarian Thought, pp. 178, 182, 184, 187–189; cf. *the same*, Unfamiliar Modes, pp. 73 ff., 79. Na'aman sees the overall problem of the relationship between the proletariat and the intelligentsia in a more historically informed way than Schäfer; in the present point, however, he also states: Marx and Engels "have shown a tendency ... to rape every spontaneous labor movement". *Shlomo Na'aman*, Zur Entstehung der deut schen Arbeiterbewegung. Learning Processes and Socialization 1830–1868, Hanover 1978, p. 26.

⁵ "The informal dictatorship of the philosophers in the 'League of Communists' and the formal one in Lassalle's ADAV carried the separation of mental and manual labor into the labor movement." *Schäfer*, Prole tarisches Denken, p. 188; "The real reasons for the historical conflict ... : the claim to leadership of the philosophers qua scientists in matters of theory formation as well as in questions of political strategy, furthermore the incompatibility of the philosophical and the proletarian form of knowledge"; *the same*, Vnver–

/ traute Modeme, p. 74; cf. also *Na'aman*, p. 25.

⁶ This does not happen involuntarily: "The epochal belief in modern science and its technology has become questionable, and it is losing its supporters. [. . .] It can be assumed that the battle over science has good prospects of making history as the central conflict of the present." *Schäfer*, Unfamiliar Modemes, (blurb). Schäfer defines the "opposite poles of society" as the scientists and the workers. "It was not primarily representatives of two classes who met in the associations, but primarily representatives of two educational classes." *Ibid*, p. 78. See also *Antje Gerlach*, Deutsche Literatur im Schweizer Exil. Die politische Propaganda der Vereine deutscher Flüchtlinge und Handwerksgelesen in der Schweiz von 1835 bis 1845, Frankfurt/M. 1975, p. 414.

⁷ *Schäfer*, Unvertraute Modeme, p. 260. His "evidence": Annenkov's memoirs, written down after four decades! For a critique of his incorrect interpretation, see the replica Verdrängung des Anderen by *Lothar Knatz*, Internationale Wissenschaftliche Korrespondenz, Vol. 18 (1982), H. 4, pp. 437–451.

guiding principle of the German proletariat". He is - at least in his most recent work - no longer blind to the fact that "it has to do with the difficult alliance between scientific and non-scientific intelligentsia in social movements".⁸ Now that the guilty parties have been branded in this way and the avenger has arisen who finally calls a memento to the "tradition of decapitation of social movements"⁹, the whole thing could be dismissed as a cliché, constructed for transparent purposes; all the more so as the high rank that Weitling ascribes to science in his system has once again been convincingly demonstrated in recent works by Bravo, Knatz and Sandkühler.¹⁰ Incidentally, Weitling himself has defined the place of his work as a desideratum of contemporary literature.¹¹

However, the relationship between the workers' movement and the intelligentsia in general and Weitling's relationship to intellectuals in particular remains controversial. Let us therefore first turn to those grains of truth in historical reality that favor the fallacies of historiography and make a misinterpretation credible. In fact, the sources on the early labor movement provide many indications of the workers' animosity towards the prevailing science and its representatives. As early as the deliberations on the draft statutes of the League of Outlaws, a journeyman tailor pushed for an article opposing the stay of bourgeois refugees.¹²

Weitling himself confirmed such struggles between intellectuals and workers as early as the mid-1930s. In 1851 he writes: "These internal struggles in the associations and secret societies between the so-called scholars and their opponents have existed ever since the workers became involved in political agitation. We already had such struggles in Paris 16 years ago. The ambition of the 'scholars' among themselves, it was said, is to blame for all our disagreements. They alone always provoke these internal frictions.

⁸ *Schäfer, Unfamiliar Modemes*, p. 265.

⁹ *Ibid*, p. 72.

¹⁰ *Gian Mario Bravo, Frühe Arbeiterbewegung und Wissenschaft mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Wilhelm Weitlings*, (Bremen) 1981; *Lothar Knatz, Utopie und Wissenschaft*; *Sandkühler, Geschichte*, p. 195, writes: "'Science', the question of the scientific nature of communism, permeates the entire thinking of contemporary revolutionaries".

¹¹ "It wasn't reluctance to my craft that prompted me to try my hand at writing, it wasn't ambition or personal interest. No, it wasn't that! - I found a tremendous gap in literature that had not yet been filled, considered filling it to be the most necessary thing for the good of society, and only set to work because I saw that, as far as I knew, no other German writer was doing it. This fact is irrefutable, as is my conviction that, owing to the peculiarities of the tailoring trade, my studies in the branch of literature which I am working on were more possible than in many other business subjects. I believe I had to be a craftsman in order to become a writer for my principles; I would hardly have become one at university:- *- Wilhelmj Weilling, Kerkerpoesien, Hamburg 1 844, S. VIII*f.

¹² *Werner Kowalski, Vorgeschichte und Entstehung des Bundes der Gerechten*, Berlin 1962, p. 58; *Hans Joachim Ruckhüber/e, Frühproletarische Literatur. Die Flugschriften der deutschen Handwerksgesellen vereine in Paris 1832-1839*, Kronberg 1977, p. 18. In 1846, Ewerbeck noted as progress, among other things, that the Parisian righteous had shed "the dull hatred of scholars". Hermann Ewerbeck to Karl Marx, May 15, 1846, in: *BdK*, vol. 1, p. 339. August Becker turns evocatively against the war between "spiritual and physical producers of the present society". *August Becker, Die Volksphilosophie unserer Tage* (1 843), in: *Hans Joachim Ruckhüberle, Bildung und Organisation in den deutschen Handwerksgesellen- und Arbeitervereinen in der Schweiz, Tübingen 1983*, p. 275.

and seek to use them against each other. Expel the scholars! Take in only workers, etc."¹³ The anger of "the politically-minded workers against the scholars" is also mentioned in 1849.¹⁴

The young Engels observed - also long BEFORE 1846 - mistrust of educated leaders.¹⁵ Ewerbeck mentions bloody clashes between students and handwerker and reports of "bitter hatred" on the part of political refugees, especially against Communists.¹⁶ The Telegraph of 1845 also confirms the former in a principle article "Student and Knot". It dates "a change in the conditions and mutual relations of two classes . . . which for a long time stood in sharp opposition to each other in Germany . . . the German student and the German worker", to the time of the July Revolution.¹⁷

The problem obviously became more acute in the German labor movement than in the early French movement, presumably due to the special conditions under which the early proletarian movement emerged in the foreign associations of German political refugees. On the one hand, early German proletarians completed their first political semesters in Paris in the German People's Association. On the other hand, practical experience of the political freedoms of the July regime ensured an early keen insight into the limits of the political ideals of the German liberals and bourgeois republicans. Simultaneous contact with the neo-Babouvist, socialist and Jacobin aspirations of the French workers meant that the early proletarian members very soon opposed their intellectual spokesmen with their own ideas about the future in Germany. Of the bourgeois émigrés, most of whom had their first contact with the proletarian element, not all of them tolerated the

emancipation efforts of the workers, least of all the communist ones.

In this

respect

These struggles, which took the form of battles between workers and intellectuals a partial front of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

¹³ *Republic of Labor*, 7. 6. 1851, p. 60, III.

¹⁴ *Weilling*, *Garantien*, p. 288f.

¹⁵ *Friedrich Engels, Progress of Social Reform on the Continent*, in: MEW, vol. 1, p. 484.

¹⁶ *Hermann Ewerbeck, L'Allemagne et les Allemands*, Paris 1851, p. 590; *Der Communist*, No. 1, Nauvoo 1853; see BdK, vol. 1, p. 339.

¹⁷ *Telegraph for Germany*, No. 59, Hamburg, April 1845, p. 233 f.

¹⁸ The carpenter and political spokesman in the League of Outlaws, Wolfgang Strähl, wrote about the community of goods in 1836: "And the most learned are least able to understand and seek it . . . to work against it." *Wolfgang Strähl, Briefe eines Schweizers aus Paris 1835-1836. Neue Dokumente zur Geschichte der frühproletarischen Kultur und Bewegung*, ed. by Jacques Grandjonc, Waltraud Seidel Höppner and Michael Werner (in preparation), p. 276 (Ms.). Weiting reports that in the beginning it was impossible to talk about the abolition of money and property without "exposing oneself to ridicule from one side and persecution from the other", and that printed publications on the subject were distributed "only with the utmost caution" and that "no one dared to allow such a publication to be seen in public", *Weilling, Garantien*, p. 292. 292. Ewerbeck reports on the "hatred of the other German refugees against the Communists", *Ewerbeck, L'Allemagne*, p. 589. Weiting comments not without bitterness on bourgeois receipts for proletarian solidarity: "For the children of the one, we craftsmen once collected money so that they could attend university. What they profited from there, they now use to defend capital against the socialists and communists in the press", *Weilling, Garantien*, p. 309. It is "fashionable nowadays in the learned world to scold . . . the communists", according to a letter from London. *Young Generation*, February 1842, p. 20.

In any case, the division of labour between physical and intellectual work was understood very early on by the early proletarian spokespeople — even if this was not always said in this context — as a result and component of class division, and its abolition was sought in educational policy and practically tackled in the first organizations.¹⁹ This division of labour, however, places intellectuals among the privileged from the outset and makes the workers' struggle against educational privilege part of their emancipation. The flip side of the effort to gain self-confidence, however, was the reduction of scholarly fetishism in the minds of the workers. As early as 1835, Strähl lamented the "incorrect concepts . . . of scholars, statesmen, warriors, etc., who are over tions of their erudition and strength". He writes: "The people have has always placed too little confidence in itself, and too much in its officials and rulers; it considered itself ignorant, the latter omniscient, itself clumsy, the latter capable of anything, itself weak and impotent, the latter heroes and demigods."²⁰ Weitling's journal is no less resolute in its opposition to "the prejudice that only the higher and wealthier classes of society can have a correct knowledge of the structure of the state and [of] the means to remedy these defects".²¹ Progress on this point is noted with satisfaction by both the respected and the righteous.²²

The insight into the class conditionality and class function of educational privilege mani is firmly established in the contemporary usage of the German workers in the key term GEISTESARISTOKRATIE, which is almost always mentioned together with birth and money aristocracy.²³ On closer inspection, the workers include in this term a rather broadly diversified

¹⁹ Strähl dreams of a time in which "the arts and sciences will establish their residences in greater numbers among the people" and "artists and scholars" will no longer have privileges because of their knowledge, *Strähl, Briefe*, p. 99 (Ms.). Weitling prophesies for the third generation of mankind living in a community of goods: "The craftsman and the peasant will be both scholars and the scholar will be both craftsman and peasant", [*Weilling*, } *Die Menschheit, wie sie ist und wie sie sein sollte* (1838), in: *Kowalski, Vorgesichte*, p. 237. Cf. also *Der Hülferruf der deutschen Jugend*, Sept. 1841, p. 6; *August Becker, Die Volksphilosophie* (1843), op. cit. p. 268. The New York paper of the League of the Righteous writes optimistically: "How should not the arts and sciences reach their peak if everyone were given the means to further develop their talents, if everyone had the opportunity to take part in the common struggle?" *The People's Tribune*, New York, Vol. I, No. 35, August 29, 1846, "Science must cease to be a privilege," demanded the *Workers' Republic*, November 29, 1851, p. 258, II.

²⁰ *Strähl, Briefe*, p. 226 (Ms.); Marx will define the same phenomenon as "superstition of authority", *MEW*, -Vol. 34, p. 308.

² *Hülferruf*, December 1841, p. 52.

²² "But thank God! we have gained other views; we know that neither seminary nor university is able to make a man a god or demigod," says *Strähl*, p. 226. Seven years later the same relieved exclamation: "Thank God! The times are over when the working class merely read without thinking and examining; when they took everything printed for truth only because it was printed, and when every ignorance and every lie was able to create a gloss of truth when it was embodied on paper", excerpt from a letter from London, *Junge Generation*, February 1842, p. 18.

²³ As early as 1835, Wolfgang Strähl spoke of the aristocracy of ability as the "most dangerous aristocracy of all", because it "creates privileged classes" and "like all aristocracies leads to arbitrary rule", *Strähl, Briefe*, p. 279, 281 (ms.). Three years later Schapper writes: "We have the example of the moneyed aristocrats among the republican Americans with their slaves, and we see the intellectual aristocrats among our scholars in Germany", *Karl Schapper, Gütergemeinschaft*, in: *BdK*, Bd. 1. p. 10 0; des-

and finely nuanced spectrum. As early as the mid-1930s, they frowned upon the elitist Saint-Simonist ideal of a "scholarly aristocracy".²⁴ Weitling also used the term "scholarly and monetary aristocracy" as a synonym for bourgeois republic and constitutional monarchy.²⁵ The term also refers to academic representatives and apologists of the ruling system per se. Weitling speaks of men of "paid wisdom", of the "masters of money, paper and violence", for whom the sciences serve to "spread error and prejudice among the masses".²⁶ In this context, Strähl turns against "disguised scoundrels", "mischievous villains, . . . who, taking advantage of the ignorance and credulity of the people, seek to rise to office and positions of honor under the guise of defenders of civil liberty", as well as against "disguised hypocrites" and "reactionary men" at the academy and "at our aristocratic universities", who educate the youth "to become blind tools", to "blind obedience and submission to the power of a few impostors" and "to the advantage of the monarchists" and "darken their minds".²⁷ Weitling, too, is charging paid deception of the people. He speaks of priests and scholars who are hired like gendarmes and beadles²⁸, of "literary swindlers", "false sages who deceive the people", who spread their "wisdom, which they bring into the world from the high schools", in favor of the "despotism of the thick old braids

Weilling refers in the same breath to "the money men and scholars", Garantien, p. 272 ; as late as 1847, on the occasion of the hunger riots, it is said : "The intellectual aristocracy has made a front against the proletariat", Telegraph for Germany, No. 89, June 1847, p. 356. Richard Lahautiere, Kleiner Katechismus der Socialreform, Biel 1841, p. 16, also speaks of an "aristocracy" of the educated and its dangers; in Ruckhäberle, Bildung und Organisation, p. 217.

²⁴ Strähl considers such an aristocracy of ability to be much more dangerous "than the rich and aristocratic one that had existed until then", Strähl, Briefe, p. 280 (Ms.). Schapper considers it "just as bad" as the former, Schapper, Gütergemeinschaft, BdK, vol. 1, p. 99. Weitling is similarly "against a glittering barracks life under the tutelage of scholars and capitalists or whatever favorites", Junge Generation, April 1842, p. 59 f.; cf. also { Weitling, J Menschheit, p. 218; August Becker, Die Volksphilosophie, op. cit. p. 275. In 1846 the Brussels Declaration against wars also brought Marx/Engels temporarily into disrepute among the London righteous that they had in mind "to found a kind of scholarly aristocracy and to govern the people from your new seat of the gods", The Communist Correspondence Committee in London to Karl Marx in Brussels, London, June 6, 1846, MEGA, III/2, p. 219. The letter from the Communist Correspondence Committee in London to the Communist Correspondence Committee in Brussels, July 17, 1846, returns to this subject: "The reason that one still finds here and there among the workers a certain bitterness against the scholars lies, forgive us the word, in the arrogance of the scholars, who very often, where they find errors, instead of clearing up and curing, want to drive in with their goose quills and strike them dead; who, when they come together with the workers, go around with their scholarly bombs and wrap themselves in a supernatural nimbus; who do not know how to win the friendship of the workers, who repel them instead of attracting them - and you BRUSSELS PROLETARIANS still possess this damned scholarly arrogance to a high degree; this is shown by your stand against wars; by this you have truly done no good", BdK, vol. 1, S. 380.

²⁵ Weilling, Garantien der Harmonie und Freiheit, Berlin 1955, p. 272. He qualifies the political efforts of Kinkel, Struve, Haug, Ronge and others as the "nebulous German republic of professors", Republik der Arbeiter, 21. 6. 1851, p. 79; cf. also Schapper, Gütergemeinschaft, BdK, vol. 1, p. 99 f.

²⁶ Hülferruf, December 1841, p. 62; Junge Generation, April 1842, p. 56.

²⁷ Strähl, Letters, pp. 219, 218, 85, 176, 220, 273, 9 f., 15 f., 89 ff.

²⁸ Weilling, Guarantees, p. 115 f.

and "write what they cannot believe".²⁹ Early proletarian declarations of war at academies and universities are by no means directed at the educational institution as such, but rather at the contemporary strongholds of reaction, the educational institutions of conservative thinking and the graduates trained accordingly. The rejection of the workers continued to affect academically educated civil servants in legislation, the judiciary, administration and education, and in France also profiteers of the bourgeois revolution. In this sense, the term intellectual aristocracy is synonymous with the political administrators of the ruling classes.³⁰

. Intellectual aristocrats in the narrower sense are elitist advocates of the educational monopoly who reject the intellectual emancipation efforts of the workers, fight them, or at least mock them, and seek to patronize the workers.³¹ Wolfgang Strähl already protested against the elitist justification of educational privilege and its defenders: "I give talent its due, and I know how to honor knowledge; but that these heavenly gifts should be given only to the rich, and that the tree of understanding can flourish only on princely and aristocratic soil, that does not enter my head at all. Intellect is the property of every human being, it cannot be bought, it is given to the one as well as to the other, only expanded and developed in different ways. Therefore, give the people the proper education, and everyone will be able to do the business he has learned, without having to show a long line of noble ancestors or filled coffers."³² This early proletarian protest is neither formulated in anti-Scientific terms nor is it meant to be anti-intellectualist per se. It is not directed against SPIRITUAL aristocracy, but against SPIRITUAL ARISTOCRACY, not against education, but against the education MONOPOL.

²⁹ Ibid, p. 295 ; *Volksklänge*, 1841, p. 21 ; *Garantien*, p. 98 ; BdK, Bd. I, p. 131.

³⁰ "Those who say 'what is, is right', ...are usually the rulers of the peoples of the earth and those in

creatures held in their snares, which are of two kinds, those who are bought and bribed and those who are held in power by them", according to *Strähl*, *Briefe*, p. 351. Schapper counts among the intellectual aristocrats those who consider themselves predestined "to legislate and rule mankind in the place of the despots". He warns: "Do not think, therefore, that we have to fight with the princes alone; no, we shall have a much harder struggle with the above-mentioned money and intellectual aristocrats, all the more dangerous because these people will not confront us with weapons in their hands, but will seek to wrest from us our bloodily purchased freedom and our rights by bribery and cunning", *Schapper*, *Gütergemeinschaft*, BdK, vol. 1, p. 99 f. Weitling identifies the CIVIL Revolution precisely with the overthrow of princes and nobility "to the advantage of the scholars and the moneyed aristocracy", *Weilling*, *Garantien*, p. 289 ; cf. *Becker*, *Volksphilosophie*, op. cit. p. 276.

³¹ Weitling declared that it was time "for us to come of age and rid ourselves of this hateful, boring guardianship". "Enough, we are forced to work for ourselves and to devote our evening hours, which remain free after the day's toil, to intellectual work. But that is where your tutelage ends." Hülferruf, September 1841, p. 3, 5. Similarly, the London Righteous write : "Nowadays we have come so far that we also try to distinguish between what is good and bad, yes, we go even further, for if we see *that nothing good is being served up to us, we help ourselves, we write ourselves*. Of course, this is a crime in the eyes of the intellectual monopolists." Junge Generation, February 1 842, p. 18; cf. also Hülferruf, November 1841, p. 37. As late as 1851, a worker in Weitling's journal opposed the "intellectual workers'" claim to a monopoly on the ability to think: "All people have the ability to think, only in the old society very few have the leisure and opportunity to use it.

which will always remain so if it is not fundamentally transformed." *Republic of Workers*, May 31, 1851, p. 52.

³² *Strähl*, *Letters*, p. 226 (Ms).

This becomes even clearer in the generally expressed rejection of e arrogance and Scholarly arrogance, the "wanting to be more of the German scholars". Schapper writes: "The intellectual aristocrats . . . believe, with their brains overflowing with bookish wisdom, that they are better than other men and made to legislate and rule mankind in the place of despots. They do not wish that the people . . . should so that they remain the smarter ones and the people are better able to keep up. band³⁴ can lead."

Weitling endeavors to provide a multi-layered explanation of this phenomenon: "They are too proud, they have no feeling for the poor and workers, they have been brought up too effeminate and conceited, they have prospects of a privileged status, so they do not use politics in favor of the poor."³⁵ All forms of pseudo-academism and intellectual shamanism are also rejected. Weitling refers to "naked ignorance" hidden under the cloak of modern scholarship, including "those who make many learned words . . . but yet have nothing new or necessary to say"; cold contempt is directed at learned chatterboxes, pompous talkers, political mirror fencers, renown-mongers and windbags. The same rejection is expressed by all that mixture of political careerism and mouth heroism of "word and pen heroes who excite the people with beautiful phrases, but cowardly abandon them in the moment of danger".³⁷ Weitling warns the working people

³³ *Young Generation*, April 1842, p. 59 f. The Telegraph addresses the problem: "The German pupil and student became accustomed, to look down with contempt on the non-student class, especially the working class.... regarded . . . to think himself equal to the gods. He considered himself the representative of the intellectual aristocracy of the German nation, and claimed political consciousness exclusively for himself." *Telegraph für Deutschland*, No. 59, Hamburg, April 1845, p. 233 f.; cf. also BdK, Vol. 1, p. 380. Ewerbeck also criticizes the "disgraceful class arrogance that . . . kept the young scholars away from the working class", *L'Allemagne*, p. 590; *Der Communist*, Nauvoo 1853, No. 1. Even Engels admits in retrospect: ", . . . I still bore a good deal of equally narrow-minded philosophical arrogance against their narrow-minded equality communism." *Friedrich Engels*, *On the History of the League of Communists*, MEW, vol. 21, p. 20 8.

³⁴ Schapper, Gütergemeinschaft, BdK, vol. I, p. 99. Strähl already reports on experiences in this regard: "But if someone has not been to university or other schools, and he is in society . . . and he is subject to some words that are not learned, i.e. half French, Latin or Caucasian, or if he does not know the value of these words, such a person is immediately told 'what does *he* want, *he* has no education, *he* has not attended universities, let *him* remain silent', he immediately feels that his place is not with these people . . . I myself have often encountered such cases.... Let a simple worker dare to speak of philosophy, politics and religion." *Strähl*, Letters, p. 226 ff (Ms).

³⁵ *Weitling*, Preface to the 3rd edition of the Guarantees, p. 2 89.

³⁶ *Derselbe*, *Garantien*, p. 140; *derselbe*, *Das Evangelium des armen Sünders*, (Birsfeld 1846) Leipzig 19 67, p. 189 ff.; *Junge Generation*, October 1842, p. 170, 174; *ibid.* June 1842, p. 91; July 1842, p. 125, 12 7. Strähl, too, nowhere turns against THE intellectuals per se, but consistently against reactionaries, conservatives, phrase-mongers, euphemists, dazzlers, sophists, careerists; but also against "half-scholars" who consider themselves useful members of human society because they "know how to stutter out a few phrases from Greek and Roman authors", whose entire scientific education is limited to blind memorization, *Strähl*, Briefe, p. 85 f., 8C, ff., 65 (Ms).

³⁷ Korrespondenz, *Junge Generation*, December 1842, p. 204. Strähl already states: "There really are a lot of screamers who want to tear down, smash and destroy everything in their frenzy; . . . if, as many believe, these wretches could get jobs and high salaries and come to power, they would then be satisfied." *Strähl*, Briefe, p. 24. Schapper writes: "We have spiritual aristocrats

people to entrust their interests to people "who hold well-paid offices and aspire to even higher ones".³⁸

In general, but most carefully by Weitling, other categories of intellectuals and academically educated political actors are distinguished from such defenders and careerist servants of the ruling classes in a finely nuanced way. This already applies to political muddleheads and indifferents. They are usually registered with astonishment rather than contempt, presumably because of the universalist standpoint of reason that initially prevailed unbroken among the first spokesmen of the proletariat. Weitling's key experience in Leipzig in 1830 is characteristic of this. In 1842, he wrote about the experience he had gained at that time: "It was then that I convinced myself for the first time that, despite all the academic wisdom, despite all the boyish street noise, despite all the skill in riding, fencing and shooting, one can still be a real bumpkin in the decisive glance."³⁹ In addition, Weitling – in this much more perceptive than many of his fellow campaigners – takes into account a socially conditioned barrier to knowledge among intellectuals, which is not necessarily based on insufficient will or bad intentions, but is unconsciously dictated by self-interest: "One can only wonder about the

tremendous error into which the seemingly most educated men can often fall, *so as soon as they are under the influence of personal interests.*" Self-interest must also be

In my opinion, the interests of the people are not necessarily decisive if they are neglected: "In the higher regions of society, where only the laws are made . . . the situation of the people is hardly known in theory; even the full

They do not know the stretchers of these laws and orders. The practice of popular life is derived from the higher class completely banished." Because only a worker "the situation of the worker

correctly", he urges the members of the ruling classes to subscribe to his workers' paper: "Subscribe, you judges and civil servants, you ministers, mendicants and gendarmen, that your hearts may be softened . . . so that you may find the truth."⁴² He also credits Harnbach's scholars with ignorance due to their origins, as he does all those who – like Lamennais – "despite their higher intellectual education" are against write the communist principle. He explains their "gross errors" from a lack of "practical study of the suffering of the people". Weitling registers that communism finds less understanding among intellectuals than among workers: "who for 18 months . . . the doctrine of communist freedom. A doctrine which at that time our greatest

. . . when they shouted and wrote in Germany to make a name for themselves, but who quickly fell silent and proved to be obedient servants as soon as a few threatening orders from the Bundestag appeared." Schapper, Gütergemeinschaft, p. 100. Weiding glosses "hollow phrase-mongering, sophistry", "clerics and sophists", who "twist the meaning of their doctrine, just like the Christians". Weilling, Wie der Teufel sein Spiel hat, in: Bert Andreas/ Wolfgang Mönke, Neue Daten zur "German Ideology", Archiv für Sozialgeschichte, vol. VIII, Hanover 1968, p. 137.

³⁸ Weilling, Guarantees, p. 74. Strähl counts the "greater number of wise men" among those who "used their intellectual powers to secure state positions for themselves alone". Strähl, Briefe, p. 90 (Ms).

³⁹ Weilling, Guarantees, p. 278f.

⁴⁰ Young Generation, October 1842, p. 168.

⁴¹ Hüferuf, September 1841, p. 4. Five years earlier, Strähl acknowledged with astonishment the unworldliness of popular romantics: "And even our scholars, who wanted to mean well with the people, claimed that the peasant in the grossest ignorance was the happiest man." Strähl, Letters, p. 225 (Ms).

⁴² Hüferuf, September 1841, p. 4 f.

⁴³ Ibid., December 1841, p. 60. .

scholars had not yet wanted to understand, and were therefore unable to refute them, was now suddenly preached to a bunch of German workers, hardly a quarter of whom had ever picked up a newspaper or even thought about politics. - ⁴⁴

As one of the very few workers of his time, Weitling recognizes the dilemma of the social dependence of those who have to "teach, chatter and write" in order to "secure their existence", and occasionally also have to "write and teach against their convictions" for the sake of earning a living.⁴⁵ Animosity can be found in the available sources, as soon as they are questioned, not against THE scholars, nor against THE science, but against an anti-popular, elitist way of doing and communicating science that is alien to the people and to life. Once again, it is Weitling who clearly distinguishes this: "Neither the merchants in the Masonic clubs nor the priests and professors in the evening schools have torn a part of the proletariat out of this dreadful state, but it was the efforts of German political refugees who spoke out in favor of independent political development, who . . . wanted to accustom the worker to independence by founding political associations and make him aware of his political maturity, which most of the learned spokesmen of that time considered unattainable."

There is no trace of a rejection of THE science⁴⁷ ; rather an overestimation ⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Johann Caspar Bluntschli, Die Kommunisten in der Schweiz nach den bei Weitling vorgefundenen Papieren, (Zurich 1843) Glashütten im Taunus 1973, p. 26f.

⁴⁵ Weilling, Garantien, p. 140; *Hülferuf*, December 1841, p. 60 ; elsewhere : "Where care and trouble If the two sides fight over time, the latter always gets the short end of the stick. If worry leaves man no rest for study and learning, if poverty denies him the means to do so, and work for daily bread robs man of his time, how on earth is it possible to enlighten mankind spiritually?" *Junge Generation*, March 1842, p. 40. Note also the subtle nuance in the admission: „ . . . but you only ever work for others. You have not wanted to work for us; or have you not been able to?" *Hülferuf*, September 1841, p. 4f.

⁴⁶ Weilling, Vorrede zur 3. Auflage der Garantien, p. 290. Weitling admonishes the workers of 1849 : "You are much better off in this respect today. But do not forget that we have only the unshakeable perseverance to thank for this improvement, which some have shown for the realization of the principles of equal rights, equal duties and equal freedom." Almost a decade and a half earlier, Strähl declared with satisfaction that he had met "a lot of advanced young intelligentsia ... who do not aspire to official positions and state dignities", *Strähl*, Briefe, Appendix 1, pp. 31, 121 (*Ms.*). In a letter from the Communist Correspondence Committee in London to the Communist Correspondence Committee in Brussels dated July 17, 1846, it says : "As far as scholars and workers are concerned, do not believe that the German workers want to make a distinction; we see this everywhere where a n y scholar goes to the workers, where he attends their meetings, where he engages in discussion with them, where he seeks to correct their errors in a friendly manner — wherever this happens, the scholar, even if he is not a proletarian, is received and regarded as a friend and brother", BdK, Vol. 1, S. 379.

⁴⁷ Schäfer justifies his anti-scientific interpretation of early proletarian theorizing as follows: "For the collective thinking from below, the scientific discourse produces 'nothing but nonsense', presented in 'learned sayings artificially composed of metaphysical hocus-pocus'. *Schäfer*, Prole tarisches Denken, p. 197. Here he inadmissibly generalizes a passage by Weitling directed against classical German philosophy, in which he criticizes it for the sake of its metaphysical speculations. The author accuses "about religion, atheism, spirit, God, mind, soul, etc." of excessive abstraction, alienation from life and the world, and pseudo-academicism; see *Weitling*, Das Evangelium des armen Sünders, Leipzig 1967, pp. 189ff. *Schäfer* summarizes elsewhere : "Now we see that it is not only the

of their emancipatory significance, indeed the tendency – especially among representatives of the right wing of the early labor movement – to identify the emancipation of the working people with the victory of general popular education. "Where the masses are enlightened, it is impossible for another privileged class to emerge," wrote Strähl in 1835.⁴⁸ Even in the ruling society, Weiding wants "science to have easier access" to the ballot box and to government offices⁴⁹; he declares a "rule of knowledge" to be the "form of government of our principle"⁵⁰ and understands "the power of knowledge" as the driving force and regulator of progress in communism.⁵¹ His God dwells in the holes of science.⁵² Bravo finds "Weitling's thinking . . . always filled with scientism".⁵³ Knatz von Weiding also writes well-foundedly: "He formulated the claim to a scientific theory and world view, but was only able to redeem this program as a utopia."⁵⁴

Nevertheless, Weiding is considered a prime example of scholarly hatred in the specialist literature – even more so in the more recent than in the older literature. The accusation is usually taken from the sources unchecked or at least not sufficiently scrutinized and has been circulated ever since. Gutzkow already accused Weiding of "hatred of the merits of science" because of his striving "for a standard of education", which he sought to satisfy by "rising up against education and science itself".⁵⁵ August Becker called Weiding a "scholar-eater" because he opposed the payment of association teachers from workers' salaries, and accused him of proletarian arrogance and hatred of scholars because he was unable to approach Herwegh – as Becker had advised him – for financial support for the publication of his Gospel.⁵⁶ 1846 the Brussels Communists also accused the Londoners of hatred of scholars.⁵⁷ Engels

division of labor, big industry and capital, that the rift between the 'man of knowledge' and the 'productive worker' has opened up and deepened, but also because of the divergence of their forms of knowledge", Unfamiliar Moderns, p. 10 2. Superfin also accuses the Babouvists of "fear of the free development of the human intellect" and "a nihilistic" and "discriminatory relationship" to intellectual labor, art and culture. See L. G. Superfin, The Economic Conception of Equality Communism, in : Bürgerliche und kleinbürgerliche ökonomische Sozialismuskonzeptionen, Berlin 1976, pp. 336 f., 339f. Weitling demanded as early as 1838 : "Enrich yourselves with the arts and sciences, the true goods of advancing humanity." Weitling, Humanity, p. 217.

⁴⁸ Strähl, Letters, p. 10 2 (Ms).

⁴⁹ Weitling, Young Generation, July 1842, p. 126.

⁵⁰ Ibid., June 1842, p. 96.

⁵¹ Ibid., October 1842, p. 165 ; cf. also the same, Garantien, p. 140 ff.

⁵² "Faith is limited by knowledge; it ends where it begins and begins where it ends again . . . You all believe in God, but what do you believe God to be? The epitome of the highest perfection, you will answer, the epitome of all that our feelings sense and our intellect cannot grasp." The same, Gospel, p. 17.

⁵³ Bravo, Early Labor Movement, p. 11 f.

⁵⁴ Knatz, p. 215.

⁵⁵ Karl Gutzkow, Letters from Paris, Leipzig 1842, p. 117.

⁵⁶ August Becker, Geschichte des religiösen und atheistischen Frühsozialismus. First edition by Ernst Barrikol, Kiel 1932, pp. 66, 69: "But passion made him short-sighted and oblique, and the applause he received from colleagues and peers made him arrogant and dismissive about things he neither understood nor could understand, e.g. about art and science, even impertinent to a certain extent" (p. 44).

⁵⁷ Cf. BdK, vol. I, p. 379.

links the phenomenon of "scholarly hatred" to the name Weitling as late as 1881.⁵⁸ Kaufhold

t Weitling a narrow-minded "mistrust of any activity of the intelligentsia" to. In 1979, Bravo came to the conclusion that Weitling's "entire activity was directed

This had not been so clear in the past - not against the bourgeoisie or capitalism, but exclusively against the rich and the intelligentsia.

tuellen".⁶⁰ Schäfer condenses this thesis into the theory of an anti capitalist and anti intellectualist basic structure of proletarian theory formation. ⁶¹ Knatz wants Weitling's

Although Weitling's relationship to the intelligentsia was not based on "hatred of scholars", he nonetheless justifies the accusation and often treats Weitling's criticism of certain representatives of the intelligentsia too undifferentiatedly.⁶² It is too easy to lose sight of the fact that Weitling does not reject *THE INTELLECTUAL IN THE BOURGEOIS*, but the *BOURGEOIS IN THE INTELLECTUAL*.

However, the sources show that Weitling's attitude towards intellectuals was more subtly differentiated from the outset than that of Schapper, for example. He had no need of the witnesses still alive at the time to whom he referred in 1851.⁶³ His own writings speak for him. He praised the cultural and political merits of intellectuals with close ties to the people among the political refugees, combated spontaneously rising hostile sentiments among the workers and worked against premature judgments by Paul Schapper that summarily lumped together the attitudes of intellectuals: "Subscribe to our journal, you poets and scholars, doctors, professors and the like, for you have helped us to think what we write. You are our masters in intellectual work, we are your apprentices; but you only ever work for others. You have not wanted to work for us; or have you not been able to?"⁶⁴ 4 1 845 in a dedication to Lorenz von Stein: "We do not seek our followers among the rich, but among the educated, who will not escape us. We do not need them all, the most excellent of them were already our followers."⁶⁵ In the Fe-

⁵⁸ Friedrich Engels to Eduard Bernstein, October 25, 1881, in : MEW, vol. 35, p. 229.

⁵⁹ Bernhard Kaufhold, Einleitung zu den Garantien, 1955, p. XXXIVf., cf. *AntjeGer/ach*, Deutsche Literatur, p. 188.

⁶⁰ Gian Mario Bravo, Introduction to: Die Republik der Arbeiter, Vaduz/Liechtenstein 1979, pp. XXIII, XXX, XXV; Sandkühler, Geschichte, p. 191, speaks of Weitling's "rejection of alliance politics, of the alliance between workers and intellectuals of bourgeois social origin".

⁶¹ Schäfer, Proletarisches Denken, p. 210, summarizes "the incompatibility of the learned and the unlearned. We believe, however, that we can say with some certainty that the learned thinker is formed in *theoretical thinking from above*, which often seems to be both individual and domesticated as well as value-neutral and disinterested, whereas the unlearned thinker corresponds to *collective thinking from below*, which is both practice- and interest-oriented as well as wild and normative" ; derselbe, Unvertraute Moderne, p. 102.

⁶² Knatz, Utopie, pp. 87ff., 92, 97, 150; too often the relationship between Weitling and *THE Intelligel*).Z is mentioned here.

⁶³ „... I alone among the workers therefore always defended these scholars and prevented resolutions aimed at excluding them. I still have eye and ear witnesses to this." He adds : "Because there are different intelligences", *Republic of Workers*, June 7, 1851, S. 60.

⁶⁴ Weilling, Hülferuf, September 1841, p. 5; note the subtle distinction between WOLLEN and CAN !

⁶⁵ Reprint of the dedication to Lorenz von Stein, in : Herbert Uhl, Lorenz von Stein and Karl Marx. Zur Grundlegung von Gesellschaftsanalyse und politischer Theorie 1842-1850, dissertation, Tübingen

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Weitling recalls the political activity of Venedey, Mäurer and Dr. Schuster in the Bund der Geächteten (League of Outlaws) in his article from February 1, 1849.⁶⁶ He also acknowledges the contribution of German philosophy to communism; he mentions Hess, Lünig, Marx and especially Engels' work "Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England", the "Gesellschaftsspiegel", "Das westphälische Dampfboot" and the Parisian "Vorwärts". He no longer denies Marx's and Engels' criticism outright: "Unfortunately, in that the latter also served the cause with their sharp criticism, it was not always without self-harm."⁶⁷ In the same context, he claims that "the intelligentsia . . . had not yet united with the interests of the proletariat everywhere as it had in Paris and partly in Vienna".⁶⁸ In precisely this period, which was so fateful for the fate of the German revolution, when disappointment at the failure of bourgeois politicians revived anti-intellectualist sentiments among the workers, it was Weitling who once again opposed this wave and warned against vulgar materialist shortcuts that derived the social standpoint directly from social origin or position. In words and writing, he repeatedly refers to the rich who put their strength, wealth and talent at the service of the liberation of the exploited and declares them to be allies. He explicitly mentions Louis Hessberg, Armand Barbes, Etienne Cabet and Robert Owen as belonging to the "scientifically educated section" of the rich who "will be for us". He recommends Raspail to the French workers; he admonishes the German workers in a sentence that corrects Weitling's opinion of 1841: "Thomas More, Owen, Babeuf, Cabet, Buonarrotti (them!), Hessberg, Barmby, Sehlöf fel, Gottschalk, Struve, Otterberg, Meier, Reichenbach, Everbeck, Marx, Engels, Hess, Lünig were not driven to communism by necessity. And I could name a number of people who worked for communism not through their own misery, but through the misery of the masses."⁶⁹ It is clear that research would do well to locate the complexity of the term "intellectual aristocracy" as precisely as possible and to take into account differences that are occasionally hidden under articulation difficulties.

According to everything that has come down to us, Weitling cultivated a completely carefree relationship with intellectuals such as Marx, Bakunin, Gutzkow, Herwegh, Kriege, the Fröbel brothers, Schirges and many others. Characteristic of this is the episode of his meeting with Heine at Campe's in 1844, which still piqued the poet many years later for the sake of the collegiality Weitling testified to.⁷⁰ Many contacts with well-known contemporary writers were made.

p. 224 f. The carpenter Joachim Friedrich Martens also demanded in 1848 that the working class should "closely follow the men of the fatherland who have preceded us through education, and really mean well with the people's cause, in order to complete together with them the great work of the people's rule", quoted in Marsiske, Theorierezeption in der frühen deutschen Arbeiterbewegung - am Beispiel Wilhelm Weitling, 1981, p. 154 (Ms).

⁶⁶ Weilling, *Preface to the 3rd edition of the Guarantees*, p. 290f.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 296, 298.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 299f.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 294, 296, 299, 366 ; cf. Hülferuf, *September 1 841*, p. 4: "Whoever correctly assesses the situation of the worker

share must be a worker himself."

⁷⁰ Heine describes the scene of his "first and last meeting with the then daily helper . . . when the famous journeyman tailor approached me in my friend Campe's bookshop in Hamburg and announced himself as a colleague who professed the same revolutionary and atheistic doctrines ... What wounded my pride most was the utter lack of respect which the fellow displayed while he spoke to me." Heinrich Heine, *Confessions*, in: *Works*

his own initiative, such as those with Marx⁷¹, Cabet⁷², with Alexander von Humboldt⁷³, or his ten-year correspondence with the American astronomer Joseph Henri between 1855 and 1866⁷⁴. All this testifies to a completely unbroken relationship with intellectuals. The same applies to other representatives of the political avant-garde of the early proletariat as early as the 1830s, who otherwise took the same stance against the intellectual aristocracy. The twenty-year-old journeyman tanner Carl Wolfrum socialized with Börne and Heine just as unconcernedly as with Lafayette and Garnier-Pages.⁷⁶ The carpenter Wolfgang Strähl declared the association "with learned and enlightened people to be a better and far more excellent school in the regions of knowledge and understanding . . . than universities". He also writes: "The true and pure sincerity of mind is to be found today among the workers . . . then also in many scholars, who do not disdain to associate with the artisans, and who are capable of comprehending the true philosophy and morality of life. – There are people of this kind today; as there have been in every age, . . . the greater part of the scholars and artisans in whose CIRCLE I move are virtuous people of blameless character.

. . . in whom no deceit, no falsehood, no self-interest is to be found."⁷⁷ It is the years-long political gathering of journeymen and political refugees in the German foreign associations of the July Monarchy, which brought the interaction. The project helped to break down class barriers between groups and promote informal interaction of the two with each other. This phenomenon is a prime example of the historical barriers to understanding between "learned" and "unlearned thinking" can be overcome in the short term. All in all, it becomes clear that the processes in historical reality proceed differently than the archaeology of proletarian mental work "reconstructs" them for us.⁷⁹

The same applies to the relationship between the political spokesmen of the early proletariat and philosophy. "The conflict of 1846 has made the spokesman of the collective author ...

in fünf Bänden, Berlin und Weimar 1978, vol. 5, p. 359f.; the same, Sämtliche Werke, Düsseldorf Ausgabe, vol. 15, Hamburg 1982, p. 141 f.; cf. Weidings Kommentar zur Darstellung dieser Episode, Republik der Arbeiter, 4. 11. 1854, p. 356.

⁷¹ Note Weiding's special letters to Marx, Engels and Hess, MEGA, III/1, pp. 445, 462 f., 485 f. Dear Boys!" reads the latter, dated September 22, 1845, in which he announces his visit to them.

⁷² In an open letter, Cabet himself recalls the visit that Weiding had made to him in Paris before his departure for New York, which Cabet returned in New York on his journey from Nauvoo to Paris. Cabet to Weiding, *Der Communist*, No. 1, Nauvoo, January 1853, p. 4, II.

⁷³ According to the Alexander von Humboldt Research Center of the Academy of Sciences in Berlin, Weiding's letter has not been preserved.

⁷⁴ Reprinted in Knatz, *Utopia*, pp. 241-250.

⁷⁶ Cf. Grandjón/Seidel-Höppner/Werner, *Introduction to Wolfgang Strähl*, p. 50 (Ms.).

⁷⁷ Strähl, *Briefe*, p. 299, 25 (Ms.).

⁷⁸ "The democratic connections gained more and more ground in Germany and gradually stifled that shameful class influence that had until then kept the young scholarly world away from the working class." Ewerbeck, *L'Allemagne*, p. 590; *Der Communist*, No. 1, Nauvoo, January 1853: The Telegraph writes for the period after the July Revolution: "The worker showed that in political debates he possessed far more sound tact than his tyrant (the student, S.-H.). So now the two no longer face each other as enemies, but as fellow sufferers." *The Telegraph for Germany*, No. 59, Hamburg, April 1845.

⁷⁹ The declared aim of this "archaeology" is the "reconstruction of repressed and suppressed forms of thought", Schäfer, *Unvertraute Moderne*, p. 55. With Marx, "the passionate flashes of thought of

(i.e. Weitling, **S.-H.**) into an opponent of the German 'nebulous philosophers'," writes Schäfer.⁸⁰ First of all, it is true: Weitling finds no access whatsoever to Schelling and Hegel. He accuses the philosophy of both of them of being far-fetched and out of touch with life and confusing concepts.⁸¹ However, this aversion was not a working:communist fad among the democratic left at the time.⁸² Even Marx could not warm to Hegel straight away.⁸³ His breakthrough to materialism and democratism, like Feuerbach's, led to a break with Hegel's idealistic speculation and his yes to constitutional monarchy. Even before Weitling, Engels criticized Young Hegel's way of expressing himself.⁸⁴ Weitling, at any rate, did not need the dispute in Brussels to lose his appetite for Hegel. According to his own report, this happened in Zurich in 1842; but not because he harboured an aversion to Hegel's "historical and dialectical thinking and critical conception of science"⁸⁵, but out of sheer ignorance and because Bakunin was unable to correctly define the categories of Hegelian thought and explain the meaning of Hegel's philosophy to him.⁸⁶ The early proletarian "no" to Hegel's philosophy also means "no" to Hegel.

1844 ... a 'strictly scientific idea' to which the 'Cinderella' had to submit from then on. This deprived the cultural dedifferentiation of mental and manual labor of a great opportunity and misled the political connection between the intelligentsia and the proletariat from the outset." Because of the uncompromising claim to leadership "of philosophical communism, or more precisely, of the communist philosophers", "the alliance of philosophy and the proletariat did not come about", Schäfer, Unvertraute Moderne, pp. 75, 77; on this problem see Sandkühler, Geschichte, pp. 220 f.

⁸⁰ Schäfer, p. 216 note 64. Schlüter already suggests such a connection. He speaks of Weitling's "Ab inclination against philosophy and especially against Hegel, whose disciple Karl Marx seemed to him to be", Hermann Schlüter, Die Anfänge der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika, Stuttgart 1907, S. 109.

⁸¹ Weiding wrote in 1846: "German philosophy has developed nothing but German confusion of concepts." However, this judgment only refers to idealist philosophy, and even here only to Schelling and Hegel and all those who "talk about religion, atheism, spirit, God, mind, soul, etc. in the realm of the supersensible".

fishing for abstractions whose concepts no one can grasp". Weitling's impression is reinforced by the experience that no one "could tell him what he (Hegel, S.-H.) wanted, although the whole German nebulous philosophy makes a great clamor about him", Weitling, Evangelium, p. 189 ff., 203; cf. also Junge Generation, April 1842, p. 55.

⁸² The Telegraph for Germany, No. 49, Hamburg, March 1845, declares the reproach to be justified that the philosophers have hitherto "ignored the law of life in the abstraction of thought and in the Wüste der Ideen sich vollkommen logisch, aber ungreiflich für nichtphilosophische Köpfe ihres Schlages geirrt haben", and approvingly refers to a lecture by Nees von Esenbeck on "Das Verhältnis der Philosophie zu der lebendigen Entwicklung des Menschengeschlechts" as a new philosophy, "die den Gedanken von seiner Spukhaftigkeit befreit hat und ihm den Stempel des Wirklichen imprimiert". August Becker also declared the philosophy of Kant, Fichte, Schelling and Hegel to be a dead science. Preface to Georg Kuhlmann: Die Neue Welt oder das Reich des Geistes auf Erden, in Ruckhüberle, Bildung und Organization, p. 378.

⁸³ "I had read fragments of Hegel's philosophy, whose grotesque rock melody did not please me." Marx wrote this to his father on November 10/11, 1837, MEGA, III/1, p. 16.

⁸⁴ In 1845 Engels wrote - not without self-criticism - against "true socialism": "What the German, is only the bad, abstract, incomprehensible and crooked form in which they ... expressed thoughts" that "the French or English had already expressed ten, twenty, even forty years ago". - years ago - and had said it very well, very clearly, in very beautiful language." Friedrich Engels, Ein Fragment Fouriers über den Handel, introduction and epilogue in: MEW, vol. 2, p. 60 S.

⁸⁵ Knatz, p. 211.

⁸⁶ Weitling describes the episode: "How often was I told to study Hegel after all. I have

Hegel or Schelling neither reject philosophy per se nor the German, nor even its bourgeois representatives. For Weitling appreciated Feuerbach just as much as Bacon.⁸⁷ He indignantly rejects Heinzen's insinuation that he ever lumped Hegel, Ruge and Feuerbach together.⁸⁸ The London and Paris justices also studied Feuerbach.⁸⁹ A decade earlier, the carpenter Wolfgang Strähl expressed a similarly differentiated relationship to German and French philosophy in the *Bund der Geächteten*. He turned against the philosophy of Kant, Hegel and Schelling, "which is mired in deep musings and confused fantasies of an incomprehensible metaphysics", and called for a philosophy "which also has something to do with social life and which had already been taught by Herder, Schiller, Johannes von Müller and the great judge".⁹⁰ He praises Fichte for the courage with which he professes his convictions and because "all his essential writings . . . are in favor of democracy", also because "Fichte's heart beat for humanity".⁹¹ In this context, let us draw

I picked up the book six times and each time my eyes fell on artificial, inartificial phrases, and no one was ever able to tell me what Hegel actually wanted. Bakunin ... wanted to lecture me on Hegel for an hour a day in Zurich in 1842, for example. The first lesson I was excited because I was expecting something, and my teacher was satisfied. In the next lesson we came to the word SPIRIT. I did not want to be led beyond it without the meaning of this word, used here in the book, being properly defined for me. I first wanted to know what SPIRIT was. Bakunin, however, wanted me to follow him for the time being without this explanation. I tried, out of pure courtesy to Bakunin, but it was not possible. I felt that my mind was being led astray in this way. And the study of Hegelian philosophy had come to an end for me." *Republic of the Workers*, May 10, 1851, p. 28, ll.

⁸⁷ "ROGER BACON, who fought the prejudices of the masses and taught the realm of reason." *Junge Generation*, October 1842, p. 164; he also appreciates "Fourier, a merchant, was indisputably one of the greatest scholars of his time. We have much, very much good to thank for his writings; but at the same time he has endowed us with some errors." *Ibid.*, November 1842, p. 189.

⁸⁸ "... I have spoken out AGAINST the value of Feuerbach's writings. I have never done so, neither verbally nor in writing. Feuerbach's 'Religion of the Future' and 'Essence of Christianity' should be in every German family and in every association, that is my judgment of Feuerbach. Ruge and Hegel, of course, do not satisfy people of my persuasion." *Republic of the workers*, 10. 5. 1851, P. 28, ll.

⁸⁹ "In our society we are eagerly discussing Feuerbach," says a letter from the London Communist Correspondence Committee to the Communist Correspondence Committee in Brussels dated 17. 7. 1846, BdK, vol. 1, p. 378. Marx Feuerbach reported from Paris on 11. 8. 1844 : "The local German craftsmen, i.e. the communist part of them, several hundred of them, have heard lectures on your 'Essence of Christianity' twice a week this summer from their secret leaders and have shown themselves to be strangely receptive", in: *Ludwig Feuerbach, Briefwechsel*, ed. Cf. *August Becker*, preface to Kuhnmann, *Die Neue Welt*, op. cit. p. 379. In Switzerland, organized workers read *Friedrich Feuerbach, Die Religion der Zukunft*, Zurich/Winterthur 1843, which was reprinted in Lausanne in 1844. See *A. Favre*

O. J. V. Lardy, General Report on the Secret German Propaganda, in : *Eidgenössische Monatsschrift*, hrsg. von mehreren schweizerischen Schriftstellern, viertes Heft, Zürich 1846, p. 216. The latter title, together with Weitling's *Garantien*, were among those read aloud to the citizens of Westphalia in the tavern in 1845. See *Friedrich Kapp*, *Vom radikalen Frühsozialisten des Vormärz zum liberalen Parteipolitiker des Bismarckreiches. Briefe 1843-1884*, ed. and edited by Hans-Ulrich Wehler, Frankfurt/ M. 1969, p. 46 ; see on "Ludwig Feuerbach und die deutsche Arbeiterbewegung" *Waltraud Seidel Höppner*, in : *BzG*, H. 1, 1965 ; *Joachim Höppner*, in : *JfG*, vol. 28, Berlin 1983 .

⁹⁰ *Strähl*, *Letters*, p. 65 (Ms).

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

bang Strähl's differentiated view of the French Enlightenment of the 18th century – his reservations about Voltaire on the one hand and his fervent reverence for Rousseau on the other – then the differentiation between the bourgeois-liberal and petty-bourgeois-democratic, and subsequently worker-communist, wings of the republican movement of the 1930s in emigration is evidently crystallized here on philosophical-historical terrain. For the workers who gathered in the left wing of the democratic movement, the criteria of a progressive, acceptable philosophy were evidently closeness to life, solidarity with the people and democratism, which were expressed in general comprehensibility.

Moreover - but this has only recently emerged from our studies of the Strähl letters - the aversion to Schelling and Hegel, which was already acute in the League of Outlaws in 1835, is not at all an original proletarian front. The arguments of the outlaws against individual representatives of classical German philosophy, which resemble those of Weitling to a tee, are drawn from the bourgeois reservoir of the Leipzig philosopher Wilhelm Traugott Krug (1770-1842), the state theorist Johannes Weitzel (1771-1837) and the journalist Eduard Kolloff as well as Ludwig Börne in Paris.⁹² On this issue, the proletarian members of the League of the Outlaws and the Righteous were only taking sides in a dispute that had been going on since the 1920s. On the left wing of the bourgeois republican movement, they merely support what they consider to be in the interests of workers' enlightenment. But they borrow from the ideological ammunition boxes of the bourgeoisie not only knowledge but also the method of argumentation. Research would do well to pursue the seams and ruptures between proletarian and bourgeois thinking and the dialectic of mutual mediation as carefully as possible and to follow historical reality rather than home-made recipes far removed from history.

In any case, the concept of an autonomous form of early proletarian theorizing. The thesis of the "incompatibility of philosophical and proletarian forms of knowledge" and of the supposedly unbridgeable "gulf that separates philosophers and workers in the workers' movement" does not stand up to scrutiny.⁹³ Early proletarian theory, as we find it in the first manifestations of the spokesmen of the English, French or German workers of the 1930s and 1940s, emerged as the first self-understanding of one's own social interests only in a radical break with prevailing ideas. On the one hand, the proletariat can only achieve its own class consciousness to the extent that it moves AWAY from bourgeois thinking. On the other hand, this process of proletarian theory formation never and nowhere takes place in a vacuum, but in the midst of dominant thinking in a protracted, highly contradictory process.

⁹² In his letters, Strähl quotes Krug's criticism "of language, this first and most natural organ of thought", which German classical philosophy "as it were, scientifically chastises", and refers to Kolloff's criticism of Hegel, *Strähl, Briefe*, pp. 65, 125; see also Strähl's reading field, Appendix 4. Heinrich Heine, in 1834 the only one on the German left (after Engels) to recognize the explosive power of Hegel's developmental thinking, also points to its politically deadening idealistic flip side and its consequences: since "German youth, immersed in metaphysical abstractions, forgot the interests of the near future and became unfit for practical life : so the patriots and friends of freedom must have felt a righteous discontent against philosophy, and some went so far as to break the baton to it altogether as an idle, useless aerial fencing", *Heinrich Heine, Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland*, Secular Edition, vol. 8, S. 227.

⁹³ *Schäfer, Proletarisches Denken*, p. 183 f., 187 f. ; *the same, Unvertraute Moderne*, p. 74, 80.

process. Prevailing bourgeois and conservative views are measured against social and struggle experience gained by the people themselves, compared with traditional plebeian struggle experience and broken by the generalized insight gained in the process. The result initially and usually for a long time remains interwoven with relics of dominant ideology in many forms, whereby only gradually does the universally valid separate itself from the class-specific and assert itself.

In many respects, early proletarian thinking in the 1930s and 1940s was very much within familiar forms; it varied them, modified them, even rejected them; initially, however, it simply reworked many generally accepted views. The workers also take questions, approaches, arguments and even entire thought patterns from bourgeois-liberal and democratic literature with positive knowledge, filter them in their own class interests, as it were, and put them at their own service. This is what happens in the so-called left-Ricardian interpretation of the bourgeois labor theory of value⁹⁴, which justifies the immediate producer's claim to his product. This happens with the early proletarian interpretation of the bourgeois revolutionary slogans of liberty, equality and fraternity. Finally, this happens with the manifold socialist and communist interpretations of the Bible, which were able to tie in with liberal and democratic biblical criticism. It is precisely this phenomenon of linking up or merely functioning around it that makes it easier for bourgeois interpretation to imply a relationship of identity between proletarian and bourgeois thought or to trivialize the differences in content.⁹⁵

This also misses the historical reality. For as soon as one verbally If we scrutinize identical formulas, we come across differences, even discrepancies. This applies to the natural law concept of property as well as to the interpretation of the concept of equality and freedom or the understanding of democracy. It also applies to the awareness of tradition. In the understanding of heritage of the spokesmen of the outlaws and the righteous, we find conspicuous beginnings of a differentiated view of conservative, liberal, bourgeois republican and popular democratic currents. The early proletarian theory of the thirties and forties is full of reservations against ideological representatives of monarchism, the ruling clericalism and the upper middle classes in the past and present; on the other hand, it is virtually saturated with Rousseau's democratism,

⁹⁴ On continuity and rupture, see **Liane Jauch**, *Owen's new approaches in political economy*, in : *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie*, 9/1982.

⁹⁵ "The early labor movement was almost exclusively a matter for journeymen workers, i.e. a qualified minority of the manual laboring class; and this minority was not proletarian in its self-consciousness." **Werner Conze**, *The Beginning of the German Labor Movement*, in : *Geschichte und Gegenwartsbewußtsein*, Göttingen 1963, p. 326. **Wolfgang Schieder** trivializes ideological differences; he qualifies the difference between **Weitling's** communitarian doctrine on the one hand and **August Wirth's** bourgeois-republican position (in **Schieder**: "democratic-social") as "only seemingly principled" and refers, among other things, to the common religious basis of political radicalism and early socialism, **Wolfgang Schieder**, *Anfänge' der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung. Die Auslands vereine im Jahrzehnt nach der Julirevolution von 1830*, Stuttgart 1963, p. 310 f., 240 ff. **Schieder** bases his theses, among other things, on the common sympathy of the outlaws and the righteous for **Lamennais'** radical democratism, which even **Engels** still supported three years after **Lamennais'** 'rejection of communism'. "more or less devoted to communism" (**MEW**, vol. 1, p. 487), whom **Weiding** even forgave for his anti-communist outbursts, although he could not conceal his reservations in the long run, see **Hülferuf**, December 1841, p. 60 ; **Garantien**, p. 291, 299.

of left-wing Jacobinism and Babouvism, as handed down by Buonarroti and enriched by the Neo-Babouvists with elements of Saint-Simonism and Fourierism. It was demonstrably formed neither in blind dependence on bourgeois thought nor in a sudden break with the prevailing views.⁹⁶

But to conclude this problem, let's take a look at the other side of the divide that supposedly separates philosophers from the labor movement. From

Hegel's students, Moses Hess was one of the first to recognize Weitling's ideas "Genius and originality" and presented it in the *Rheinische Zeitung* in 1842.⁹⁷

Friedrich Engels recommended the Owenist Weitling as the "founder of German Communism" and praised Weitling's journal: "Although written exclusively for workers and by a worker, this paper has been better from the beginning than most French Communist publications, better even than Father Cabet's 'Populaire'. You can tell that its editor must have worked very hard to earn the

historical and political knowledge, without which a publicist simply cannot and which a deficient education had deprived him of."⁹⁸ Engels also considers

forty years later, when one can no longer attribute youthful exuberance to him, he stands by his first judgment, indeed he emphasizes Weitling's theore more strongly than in his younger years.

tic achievement: "Weitling was a communist theorist, who could be was allowed to boldly stand alongside his French competitor at the time." In the year

1844 Karl Marx regards Weitling's ingenious writings as proof of the "level of education or the educational capacity of the German workers in general" and finds them superior to the bourgeois emancipation literature: "Where could the bourgeoisie - including its philosophers and scribes - have produced a work similar to Weitling's 'Guarantees of Harmony and Freedom' with regard to the emancipation of the bourgeoisie - *political* emancipation? If one compares the sober, pusillanimous mediocrity of German political literature with this *exorbitant* and brilliant literary debut of the German workers; if one compares these gigantic *children's shoes* of the proletariat with the dwarfism of the well-worn political shoes of the German bourgeoisie, one must prophesy an *athlete's figure* for the *German Cinderella*. It must be confessed that the German proletariat is the *theoretician* of the European proletariat, like the English proletariat.

⁹⁶ The carpenter worker Wolfgang Strähl read and argued with the writings of Vertot and Chateaubriand as well as those of Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Robespierre and Saint-Just; he referred to Schiller, Herder, Jean Paul and Johannes von Müller; he revered Lamennais no less than Buonarroti and read Toqueville - but none of them uncritically and without ever abandoning his own standpoint 'between egalitarianism and socialism. Our investigations from this early phase of development confirm what Hans Jörg Sandkühler generalizes: "The existing sciences are sources of the political and ideological culture developed in the labor movement to a far more significant degree than is usually seen." *Sandkühler*, History, p. 214.

⁹⁷ *Rheinische Zeitung*, No. 272, 29. 9. 1842. Hess discusses Weitling's essay here. Die Regierungsform unseres Prinzips from Junge Generation, August 1842, p. 84 ff., which the Telegraph für Deutschland, Hamburg, had adopted in August 1842 in Nm. 129-132 under the title "Die Regierungsform des communistischen Prinzips"; cf. *Moses Hess*, Philosophische und sozialistische Schriften, ed. and in German by Wolfgang Mönke, Berlin 1980, p. 191.

⁹⁸ *Friedrich Engels*, Progress of Social Reform on the Continent, The New Moral World No. 19, dated 4. 11. 1843, MEW, vol. I, p. 490.

⁹⁹ *Derselbe*, Zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten (1885), in : MEW, vol. 8, p. 581.

proletariat is its *national economist* and the French its *politician*. "¹⁰⁰ A noble judgment! Engels expressly signed it at the end of his days. ¹⁰¹ Modern interpretation seeks to deepen the gulf between learned and unlearned thought. For the scholar Marx, the writings of the unlearned Weitling were good enough to cite them as one of his sources, alongside the works of Hess and Engels, in his studies on the Critique of National Economy. ¹⁰² The philosopher Ludwig Feuerbach was no less

"surprised by the attitude and spirit of this journeyman tailor"; he compared Weitling to the "troop of our academic lads" and wanted to be the first to dedicate a book to him. ¹⁰³ Engels records : "Feuerbach said that he had never enjoyed any book as much as the first part of Weitling's 'Guarantees'." Engels considers Feuerbach's commitment to communism to be the "most important fact" that he has to report and expresses his hope: "Thus the connection between the German philosophers, whose most outstanding representative is Feuerbach, and the German workers, who are represented by Weitling, is almost established, a connection that was predicted by Dr. Marx a year ago."¹⁰⁴

One might object: THIS was all before the rift in Brussels! Certainly ! But three years later, in the fall of 1849, Marx and Weitling met in London. Marx treated Weitling as belonging to the "communist party", greeted him warmly, suggested several times that he take part in the discussions of the Workers' Educational Association and invited him to his home.¹⁰⁵ Engels, too, did not lose an iota of his high esteem, regardless of the differences, of which the Brussels ones were not the only ones¹⁰⁶, and regardless of the memory he retained of Weitling from the Brussels period: "Later Weitling came to Brussels. But he was no longer the naïve young tailor's apprentice who, astonished by his own talent, tried to figure out what a communistic society might look like. He was the great man who was persecuted by his superiors, who sensed rivals, secret enemies and pitfalls everywhere;

¹⁰⁰ Karl Marx, Critical marginal notes to the article "Der König von Preußen und die Sozialreform. From a Prussian". "Vorwärts", No. 64, August 10, 1844, in : MEW, vol. 1, p. 40 ff. ; MEGA, 1/2, p. 459.

¹⁰¹ In this context, Engels once again emphasizes the "importance of Weitling's communism" "as the first independent theoretical movement of the German proletariat", cf. Engels, op. cit. p. 579f. On Weitling's reception by Marx and Engels, see Kntz, Utopie und Wissenschaft, p. 17 ff.; Wolfgang Meiser, Utopischer Sozialismus und wissenschaftlicher Sozialismus im Verständnis von Marx und Engels, in: BzG, 6/1985.

¹⁰² Marx writes : "It goes without saying that, apart from the French and English socialists, I also used German socialist works. The substantial and *original* German works for this science, however, are reduced - apart from Weitling's writings - to the essays by Hess in the 21 sheets and to Engels' 'Outlines of the Critique of National Economy' in the 'German-French Yearbooks'." Karl Marx, Ökonomisch-philosophische Manuskripte (1844), Preface, MEGA, 1/2, p. 325; MEW, Ergänzungsband, Erster Teil, p. 468.

¹⁰³ Feuerbach, on 15. 10. 1844 to Friedrich Kapp, in : Ludwig Feuerbach, Briefwechsel, Leipzig 1963, p. 195.

¹⁰⁴ Friedrich Engels, Rapid Progress of Communism in Germany, The New Moral World, No. 37, 8. 3. 1845, in : MEW, vol. 2, p. 515.

¹⁰⁵ Jakow Rokitjanski/Olga Worobjowa, Begegnungen Wilhelm Weitlings mit Karl Marx im Herbst 1849, in : Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch, vol. 3, Berlin 1980, p. 313 f.

¹⁰⁶ See Gian Mario Bravo, Wilhelm Weitling. Die 'Republik der Arbeiter' und die Polemik gegen Marx (1850-1855), introduction to : Die Republik der Arbeiter, 1979; also Kntz, Utopie und Wissenschaft, p. 17 ff.

the prophet who rushed from country to country, carrying a recipe for the realization of heaven on earth in his pocket and imagining that everyone was out to steal it from him. He had already fallen out with the people of the League in London, and even in Brussels, where Marx and his wife, in particular, countered him with almost superhuman patience, he couldn't get along with anyone."¹⁰⁷

Historical truth-finding can only win if we pursue the actual contradictions in real history, instead of transposing rifts into historiography that cram the proletarian counterculture into a scientific-historical ghetto, in the face of which modern defenders of the old order can only rub their hands in glee.

¹⁰⁷ *Engels, On the History of the League of Communists, MEW, Vol. 8, pp. 583f.*

WALTER SCHMIDT

Marx and Engels' historical revolutionary comparison between 1789 and 1848 in the revolutionary year 1848/49*

While Marx and Engels' preoccupation with the Great French Revolution of 1789 was of central importance for their path from revolutionary bourgeois democratism to scientific communism¹, their intellectual engagement with the revolutionary struggles in France between 1789 and 1795 was above all of central importance to them. essential experiences and insights for the development of their own communist concept of revolution², the outbreak of the expected European revolution in February 1848 placed the direct comparison of the revolution between 1789 and 1848 at the center of their considerations. 'When the February Revolution broke out, we were all under the spell of previous historical experience, especially that of France, as far as our ideas of the conditions and course of revolutionary movements were concerned,' wrote Engels in 1895. It was precisely this latter experience that had shaped the whole of European history since. ! 789, from which the signal for general upheaval had again emanated. "³ .

Although the revolutionary movement of 1848/49 was European in character, Marx and Engels' main interest was in the German and French revolutions. This also applied to the revolutionary comparison with 1789. When it came to relating 1789 and 1848, there were two main problem complexes. The comparison between the French 1789 and the German 1 848 took up the most space in Marx and Engels' reflections. In the daily analyses of the development of the German revolution in the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung", the Great French Revolution served as a model that set the standard. The German bourgeois revolution, especially its leading class, the bourgeoisie, was held up to the mirror of its great French predecessor, as it were. However, the articles about the

* The study follows on from an investigation by the author on *1 789 and 1848 in the historical revolutionary comparison in Marx and Engels in the Vormärz period*, in : 1789 and the Revolutionary Cycle of the 19th Century. Dedicated to the work of Walter Markov, Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, 3 G/1985, Berlin 1985. The following was used as an aid to indexing the statements of Marx and Engels: *Willi Herferth*, Sachregister zu Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, Werke (MEW), Akademie

for Social Sciences at the Central Committee of the SED, 3 volumes, Berlin 1979.

¹ Cf. *Hans-Peter Jaeck*, Die französische Revolution von 1781 im Frühwerk von Karl Marx, Berlin 1979.

² Cf. in particular *Herwig Förder*, Marx and Engels on the eve of the revolution. Die Ausarbeitung der politischen Richtlinien für die deutschen Kommunisten (1846–1848), Berlin 1960.

³ *Friedrich Engels*, Introduction (to Karl Marx's "Class Struggles in France 1849 to 1850"), in: MEW, Vol. 22, p. 512.

French Revolution of the Forty-Eight, many of which were penned by Ferdinand Wolff⁴, also struck the basic chords of a second theme, which admittedly only became decisive for the post-revolutionary period: the comparison of the two French revolutions of 1789 and 1848.

As far as the first set of questions is concerned, a number of new moments emerge.

What is new in some respects is the analysis of the relationship between the bourgeoisie and the peasantry, which is extremely important for the course and outcome of a bourgeois revolution. Marx and Engels had already recognized in the pre-March period that both classes were dependent on each other in the struggle against feudalism.⁵ The peasantry needed the bourgeoisie as a hegemon to rally and direct its revolutionary energies; the bourgeoisie, for its part, needed the peasants as an "army to fight" its battles. Marx and Engels used the different behavior of the French bourgeoisie in 1789 and the German bourgeoisie in 1848 to illustrate the importance of the peasant question and the alliance between bourgeoisie and peasants for the fate of a bourgeois revolution. Marx assumed that the French bourgeoisie of 1789 knew how to install and secure its rule precisely by giving the peasants a free hand in breaking up feudal relations and ensuring the constitution of a free landowning peasant class.⁶ In contrast, the German bourgeoisie remained powerless against the nobility, not least because - fearing that it would also have to attack the large bourgeois estates created by the reforms - it adopted the reformist concept of redemption practised by the old, semi-feudal governments⁷ and thus repelled the peasants, who could only be bound to the revolution by the satisfaction of their immediate social interests, from the revolution. Not only for Germany, but also for the revolutionized Eastern European countries, namely Poland, the "*Neue Rheinische Zeitung*" presented "the French revolutionary destruction of feudality"⁸ as the optimal variant for solving the peasant question on the way to capitalism.

⁴ Cf. *Neue Rheinische Zeitung – Frankreich 1848/49*. Artikel – Korrespondenzen– Berichte über die französische Revolution 1848/49, ed. and introduced by W. Schmidt, Leipzig 1986.

⁵ *Friedrich Engels*, Der Status quo in Deutschland, in: MEW, vol. 4, pp. 48, 51 ; *hes*, Die Bewegungen von 1847, in : Cf. also *Helmut Bleiber*, Zwischen Reform und Revolution. Lage und Kämpfe der schlesischen Bauern und Landarbeiter im Vormärz 1840–1847, Berlin 1966, p. 192 ff.; *hes*, Bauernbewegungen¹ und bäuerliche Umwälzung im Spannungsfeld zwischen Revolution und Reform in Deutschland 1848/49, in : Bauern und bürgerliche Revolution, ed. by M. Kossok and W. Loch, Berlin 1985, p. 199 ff., esp. p. 205 ; *Walter Schmidt*, Zur Entwicklung der Grundgedanken in der Bauernfrage bei Marx und Engels bis 1852 , in : Friedrich Engels' Kampf und Vermächtnis, Berlin 1961, p. 284 ff.

⁶ *Karl Marx*, Der Gesetzentwurf über die Aufhebung der Feudallasten, in : MEW, Vol. 5, p. 282. To the positive exaggeration of the attitude of the French big bourgeoisie in the *Helmut Bleiber*, Bauernbewegungen und bäuerliche Umwälzung, p. 214, has drawn attention to the initial phase of the French Revolution.

⁷ MEW, Vol. 5, p. 2 81; also: Patow's memorandum on redemption, in: Ebenda, p. 106 ; *Friedrich Engels*, Debatte über die bisherige Ablösungsgesetzgebung, in : Ebenda, p. 311 f.

⁸ *Karl Marx*, Der Gesetzentwurf über die Aufhebung der Feudallasten, in : On the French variant of the revolutionary path of bourgeois upheaval, see *Manfred Kossok*, Vergleichende Geschichte der neuzeitlichen Revolutionen, Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, 2 G/1981, Berlin 1981, p. 49.

She characterized this as an "agrarian revolution" that "transformed the serf or bonded peasants into free landowners".⁹

Marx's historical comparative view of revolution culminated in his series of articles "The Bourgeoisie and the Counter-Revolution" from December 1848.¹⁰ The sharp reckoning with the Prussian (and German) bourgeoisie, which had left the revolutionary front, contained the first coherent, almost classical revolutionary comparison between the great bourgeois revolutions in England and France on the one hand and the German March Revolution on the other.¹¹ Marx warned against "confusing" 1789 and 1640 with the German March. The differences between these revolutions of the same character were too serious. But he derived these differences - in very general terms - from the different stadial conditions of development of capitalist society. He was the first to introduce the Dutch War of Independence as a bourgeois revolution, while the North American War of Independence on the eve of the French Revolution remained completely out of the picture.

Just as the English revolution preceded the Dutch liberation from Spain, the French revolution was a century ahead of the English revolution, not only in time but also in substance. From the outset, the victory of each of these revolutions was not just the victory of one class, but always the assertion of a new, more developed form of bourgeois society, of which the bourgeoisie entered the battlefield as the representative. This explains their world-historical status as "European-style" revolutions.¹² With each subsequent bourgeois revolution up to 1789, a higher stage of bourgeois development was also established on a world-historical scale. The revolution of 1648 was the victory of the 17th century over the 16th century, the revolution of 1789 the victory of the 18th century over the 16th century.

17th century. The revolutions expressed the needs of the world at that time even more than those of the parts of the world in which they occurred, England and France."

In Marx's view, however, the German March Revolution no longer belonged to the ascendant phase of the world-historical bourgeois revolutionary cycle like the preceding bourgeois revolutions. With regard to the development of bourgeois society, it seemed to him that the peak had already been reached in 1789. He thus reflected the fact that the French Revolution, as the actual breakthrough battle, had brought about the reversal in the balance of power between feudalism and capitalism and had ushered in the victory of the bourgeois order on both a European and global scale. Against this backdrop, the revolution in Germany remained a mere imitation that lacked any originality. In such a context, the German revolution could no longer stand at the zenith of world-historical development, but could only be regarded as an afterthought. This was all the more so as the bourgeois order in one of its classical forms, in the shape of the consti

⁹ *Friedrich Engels, The Pole Debate in Frankfurt*, in : MEW, Vol. 5. p. 333.

¹⁰ MEW, vol. 6, p. 10 2 ff. A revolutionary-theoretical analysis of this series of articles is given by *Joachim Strey, Zu Karl Marx' Verallgemeinerung der revolutionären Erfahrungen und seiner Weiterentwicklung der Strategie und Taktik der kommunistischen Vorhut während der Revolution 1848/49 in Deutschland (Analyse der Artikelserie "Die Bourgeoisie und die Kontrerevolution" vom Dezember 1848)*, in: BzG, 1968, H. 2, p. 237 ff.

¹¹ MEW, vol. 6, p. 10 7-109.

¹² *Ibid.*, S. 10 7.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 10 7 f.

The Parisian revolution in February had abolished the institutional monarchy¹⁴ and the Battle of Paris in June had already called it into question as a whole.

In Marx's view, the historical significance of the March Revolution was further diminished by the fact that it did not even have a national dimension, but stood "*provincially Prussian*" alongside other local German revolutions.¹⁵ Marx therefore considered it quite wrong to elevate the German Forty-Eight Revolution to a world-historical rank. Rather, he assigned it a subordinate place in the further implementation of bourgeois society on the European continent.

However, this assessment of the German revolution of 1848/49 was also heavily influenced by Marx and Engels' ideas of a "shortened perspective"¹⁶ of social development. They were convinced that bourgeois society had passed its zenith and was already in its decline phase. One of the main reasons for this assumption - as Jürgen Kuczynski has emphatically pointed out¹⁷ - was that, on the one hand, the overproduction crises, which had only been recognized as "normal" contradictions of the capitalist economy on the basis of long experience, were already regarded as signs of decline and symptoms of the downfall of bourgeois society as a whole, on the other hand, they considered the proletariat, which had been independently revolutionizing since 1830, particularly in France, to be strong enough to acutely endanger the existence of capitalism and to bring about its overthrow.

The limits of Marx's classification of the German March Revolution in the bourgeois revolutionary cycle lie in this error¹⁸, which Engels later clearly identified. This gave the critical assessment of the German revolution, which was fundamentally correct in comparison with 1789, an unjustified negative and pejorative note. Nor did Marx realize at this point that the revolutions of the forty-eight, because they were already under the sign of industrial capitalism, necessary "adaptations", as it were, were revolutions and therefore certainly had world-historical significance.¹⁹

The was to be applied in a special way to the German revolution. And insofar as this aspect came to the fore, as in the "Manifesto"²⁰, it was already linked to the aforementioned idea that capitalism was already on the road to decay and that its elimination was historically on the agenda. No mention was made in Marx's position on the German revolution at this time - which Engels later repeatedly referred to as

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 108, cf. also *Friedrich Engels, Revolution und Konterrevolution in Deutschland*, in: MEW, Vol. 8, p. 39.

¹⁵ MEW, vol. 6, p. 108.

¹⁶ On this term, see *Herwig Förder, Marx and Engels on the eve of the revolution*, p. 278f.

¹⁷ *Jürgen Kuczynski, Zum Briefwechsel zwischen Engels und Marx. Studien zu einer Geschichte der Gesellschaftswissenschaften*, vol. 3, Berlin 1976, p. 11 f.; *hes., Gesellschaften im Untergang*, Berlin 1984, p. 189ff: "Only an apparent period of decline".

¹⁸ *Friedrich Engels, Introduction*, in: MEW, Vol. 22, p. 517.

¹⁹ Cf. *Walter Markov/ Walter Schmidt/ Wolfgang Küttler, Revolutionen in der Epoche des weltweiten Sieges des Kapitalismus 1789-1871*, in: *Revolutionen der Neuzeit 1500-1917*, ed. by M. Kossok, Berlin 1982, p. 105 f.; *Ernst Engelberg, Die Einheit in der Vielfalt der Revolutionen (1789-1871) — Zur Wirkungsweise historischer Gesetze*, in: *Ders., Theorie, Empirie und Methode in der Geschichtswissenschaft*, Berlin 1980, p. 387 ff.

²⁰ *Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party*, in: MEW, vol. 4, p. 492f.

a decisive new qualitative moment in the revolutions of the forty-eight²¹

- finally, the first independent intervention of the modern proletariat in the bourgeois revolution. All of these factors later led to a much more positive overall assessment and a considerable increase in the rank of the German and European revolutions of the eighties and forties by Marx and Engels.

If Marx focused on the question of the extent to which a bourgeois revolution also represents and realizes a new stage in the development of bourgeois society in world history, the second basic criterion for his assessment was the attitude of the class that was destined to lead this bourgeois society: the bourgeoisie. Here he saw the other fundamental difference between 1789 and 1848. In the bourgeois revolutions in England and France, "the bourgeoisie was the class that was *really* at the head of the movement".²² It was able to be so in the 17th and 18th centuries because it was still able to represent the whole of bourgeois society as a result of undeveloped class relations. This was no longer the case in the German revolution. Here, the bourgeoisie no longer embodied a *new* society like its English and French predecessors, but presented bourgeois society as a historically transient, even seemingly outdated order as a result of the break-up of internal capitalist contradictions. As the bourgeoisie was no longer able to stand for society as a whole, there were also limits to the realization of its hegemonic role in the revolution.

In connection with the characterization of the function of the bourgeoisie, Marx also analysed the relationship between the various classes and factions of bourgeois society striving for power in a bourgeois revolution, using the example of 1789 to 1794 in France. He took up his statements from the Vormärz and took them further. For 1789, he emphasized for the first time expressis verbis the largely unbroken anti-feudal united front of the bourgeoisie and the people. However, he contrasted the bourgeoisie not only with the proletariat, but also with "*the proletariat and the fractions of the bourgeoisie not belonging to the bourgeoisie*"²³, who were not yet aware of the difference between their interests and those of the bourgeoisie and did not yet form independent classes. Marx saw their anti-bourgeois stance, as he had already done in the pre-March period²⁴, as a necessary action in order to achieve something different from the bourgeoisie, in a "plebeian manner" to deal quickly and decisively with the enemies of the bourgeoisie and thus pave the way for it. The image of the Jacobin dictatorship gained in the pre-March period only gained a new profile insofar as it no longer appeared as the rule of the proletariat, but rather the workers, together with the non-bourgeois factions of the bourgeoisie, were merely understood as its social basis.²⁵

²¹ *Friedrich Engels*, An den italienischen Leser, in: MEW, vol. 22, pp. 365f.; Marx, Preface to *K. Marx vor den Kölner Geschwornen*; Marx, Die Abdankung der Bourgeoisie, in: MEW, vol. 21, pp. 198 ff., 383. Cf. also *Walter Schmidt*, Die internationale Stellung der deutschen Revolution von 1848/49 in der Sicht von Marx und Engels, in: *Evolution und Revolution in der Weltgeschichte*, ZfG-Sonderheft 1965, pp. 98 ff.

²² *Karl Marx*, The Bourgeoisie and the Counter-Revolution, in: MEW, vol. 6, p. 107.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Cf. *Schmidt*, 1789 and 1848 in a historical comparison of revolutions, pp. 120–122.

²⁵ For a definition of the position of French Jacobinism, see *Walter Markov*, Grenzen des Jakobim: staates, in: *Ders.*, *Weltgeschichte im Revolutionsquadrat*, ed. and introduced by M. Kossok, Berlin 1982, p. 115 1T.; *ders.*, Die Jakobinerfrage heute, in: *Ebenda*, p. 148ff.; *Manfred Kossok*, Der Begriff des Jakobinismus – Wesen und Erscheinungsformen (in this volume).

Measured against 1648 and 1789, Marx saw the German bourgeoisie in a fundamentally different situation. It resulted from the more advanced stage of capitalism, from the fact that the contradictions within capitalism had already broken out. All of this corresponded to the insights of the Vormärz. The more thorough and also more differentiated characterization of the social position and political role of the German bourgeoisie in the revolution and – more generally – in the process of bourgeois upheaval in general was more far-reaching. Marx developed the thesis of the so-called middle position²⁶ of the bourgeoisie between the nobility and the proletariat. While the French bourgeoisie of 1789 was still directing its main efforts towards overthrowing the nobility and, despite all the supposed conflicts with the masses, did not deviate from this main anti-feudal line of struggle, the Prussian-German bourgeoisie of 1848 already "just as pronounced against the crown as against the people", "revolutionary against the conservatives, conservative against the revolutionaries"²⁷. by its own power with its own will, with the people behind it, but only driven by the people and pushed to do more than it wanted.²⁸

Marx's qualification of the German forty-eight bourgeoisie was anything but one-sided. It contained two elements that have sometimes been overlooked by Marxist historiography, both of which deserve equal attention. Marx unequivocally named the basic anti-revolutionary attitude of the bourgeoisie. And he made it clear that this class's inherent willingness to compromise with the old exploiting class in the face of the new basic social situation of 1848 – the emergence of open conflicts with the proletariat and the factually secured capitalist development thanks to the world-historical preponderance of the bourgeois order and the bourgeois transformations already underway – led to a direct alliance between the bourgeoisie and the nobility and crown against the revolutionary people and ultimately to the abandonment of its own claim to political power.²⁹

However, Marx also referred no less emphatically to the simultaneous anti-feudal ambitions and claims of the Prussian-German bourgeoisie, which were based on the still unresolved contradiction between bourgeois society and the semi-feudal system. These potentials also came to the fore in the politics of the bourgeoisie in 1848/49 and – carefully observed by Marx and Engels in 1848/49³⁰ – offered important starting points for a possible left-wing development supported by left-liberal bourgeois factions, on which, incidentally, they also pinned their hopes after 1849. Research in recent years, especially on the policies of the Prussian Camphausen government and the attitude

²⁶ The Democratic Party, in : MEW, vol. 5, p. 23 : „... they have succeeded in gaining a middle position between the democratic party and the absolutists, advancing to one side, pushing back to the other, at once progressive – against absolutism, reactionary – against democracy."

Marx, *The Bourgeoisie and the Counter-Revolution*, p. 108 f.

²⁷ So also later Engels, *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Deutschland*, in: MEW, vol. 8, p. 40.

²⁹ Marx, *The Bourgeoisie and the Counter-Revolution*, pp. 110 f., 114 f.: "They had no idea that ... the Prussian bourgeoisie, struggling with the crown, had only one ally left – the people. Not as if the two had no conflicting interests. But probably because *the same* interest against a third power, which oppressed them equally, still forged both together." Furthermore p. 124; *ibid.*, *Die Kontrerevolution in Berlin*, in : MEW, vol. 6, p.– 8 f.

³⁰ Cf. Joachim Strey/Gerhard Winkler, Marx und Engels 1848/49. Die Politik und Taktik der "Neuen Rheinischen Zeitung" während der bürgerlich-demokratischen Revolution in Deutschland, Berlin 1972.

of the bourgeoisie in the Frankfurt National Assembly³¹ have fully confirmed this ambivalence in the attitude of the German bourgeoisie and allowed a more multifaceted picture of the role of the bourgeoisie in the German revolution to be drawn, avoiding any grossly negative generalization.

The Jacobin question, which Heinrich Scheel's research had largely opened up for German history after the Great French Revolution³, understandably remained an important topic for Marx and Engels in the revolutionary year 1848/49. Of course, they were not particularly interested in Forster and the German Jacobins, whose revolutionary democratism they regarded as the legitimate national heritage of the German Communists. Statements about German Jacobinism, such as we find — albeit only occasionally — in works before and after the revolution³³, are completely absent from the articles in the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung". As in Vormärz, its focus was directly on the country of origin of Jacobin thought and action, on France, on Jacobinism "inra muros"³⁴.

Marx and Engels had decisively opposed an undifferentiated glorification or even schematic transfer of Jacobin traditions, as was the case with French petty-bourgeois democracy in 1848/49³, because this did not correspond to the new social conditions, the dissolution of the still unified third estate in 1889-1795. In their view, Jacobinism was a historical phenomenon integrated into the Great French Revolution, embodying the most resolute revolutionary democratism, which drew its history-forming power from the alliance of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces with the people. Their view of the nature of French Jacobin rule, which they had already gained in the pre-March period, hardly underwent any further development in the year of the revolution. Only in the definition of its function and its position did, as we have seen, some more precise nuances become visible.

What was actually new in 1848/49 was not theoretical discussions — in the relationship of the German communists to French Jacobinism of 1793/94. The revolutionary practice itself became the main field of processing the Jacobin legacy. The "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" practiced in its own way and with a qualitatively new, further

³¹ Jürgen Hofmann, *Das Ministerium Camphausen-Hansemann. Zur Politik der preußischen Bourgeoisie in der Revolution von 1848/49*, Berlin 1981; Gunther Hildebrandt, *Politik und Taktik der Gagern-Liberalen in der Frankfurter Nationalversammlung*, Diss. B, Berlin 1983.

³² Heinrich Scheel, *South German Jacobins. Class struggles and republican aspirations in the south Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1971; his work, *Jakobinische Flugschriften aus dem deutschen Süden Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin 1965; *Die Mainzer Republik. I, Protokolle des Jakobinerklubs*, ed., introduced, annotated and edited by H. Scheel, Berlin 1975; *Die Mainzer Republik. II, Protokolle des Rheinisch-deutschen Nationalkonvents mit Quellen zu seiner Vorgeschichte*, ed., eingeleit., komment. und beedb. von H. Scheel, Berlin 1981; ders., *Forschungen zum deutschen Jakobinismus. An interim balance*, in: ZfG, 1983, H. 4, p. 313 ff.

³³ Ders., *Das Verhältnis der Klassiker des Marxismus zu den Anfängen der bürgerlichen revolutionären Demokratie in Deutschland*, in: *Bourgeoisie und bürgerliche Umwälzung in Deutschland 1789-1871*, edited by H. Bleiber with the collaboration of G. Hildebrandt and R. Weber, Berlin 1977, p. 35 ff.

³⁴ Cf. Manfred Kossok, *The Salt of the Revolution — Jacobinism in Latin America. An attempt to define the position*, in: *Universalhistorische Aspekte und Dimensionen des Jakobinismus. Dedicated to the work of Heinrich Scheel*, *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR*, 10 G/1976, Berlin 1976, p. 125; *Der Begriff des Jakobinismus — Wesen und Erscheinungsformen*.

³⁵ Karl Marx, *The Paris "Reforme" on French Conditions*, in: MEW, vol. 5, pp. 448-450.

The "plebeian manner" of dealing with the enemies of bourgeois democracy, which was characteristic of Jacobinism of French provenance, was also a key objective.³⁶ Based on their positions of power in their own newspaper and in Rhenish democracy, Marx and Engels clearly endeavored to apply certain experiences of that phase of the French Revolution to political practice and to create analogous or similar instruments of power or to work towards their creation.

Even their conception of a "revolutionary provisional power" embodied by the elected constituent³⁷, which also temporarily abolished the division of powers in Germany, i.e. seized the legislative and executive powers and thus ruled in a dictatorial manner, was largely shaped by the experiences of 1789, as numerous direct appeals testify³⁸. When Engels demanded in the very first issue of his newspaper that the Frankfurt National Assembly act as a "revolutionary-active assembly"³⁹, he had the role of the French National Assembly of 1789 in mind. Both Marx and Engels described the fact that the constitutional assemblies of the German Revolution did not stand on the "fire-breathing soil" of revolutionary metropolises like their English and French predecessors as a disadvantage that could not be compensated for.⁴⁰

The German communists brought their experiences from the period of Jacobin rule to bear above all in the September crisis of 1848, when they were banking on a new upswing in the revolution that would lead to a "second revolution", a revolutionary-democratic phase similar to that of 1793/94 in France. In these weeks, the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" evoked the tradition of the most resolute revolutionary democratism of the Great French Revolution. Immediately after the publication of the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung", the editors had already expressed their own revolutionary-democratic stance by publishing the negotiations "of the French Na

tional Convention on Louis Capet, ~~the~~ ig of France" from the "Moniteur" of 1793

⁴¹ In September 1848, she accepted the reprinting of the

³⁶ In 1884, Engels, not coincidentally, directly compared the forward-driving role of the Communists in the German Revolution of 1848/49 with Marat's work in the Great French Revolution of 1789. *Friedrich Engels, Marx und die "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" 1848-1849*, in: MEW, vol. 21, p. 21: "When I later read *Bougeart's* book on *Marat*, I found that in more than one respect we had only unconsciously imitated the great model of the real (not the royalists' falsified) 'Ami du peuple' and that all the rage and all the falsification of history . . . have only this cause: that Marat mercilessly removed the veil from the idols of the moment, Lafayette, Bailly and others, and revealed them as already finished traitors to the Revolution; and that he, like us, did not want the Revolution to be declared complete, but permanent." On the role of the left and far left in 1848/49, see *Walter Schmidt*, *Linke und äußerste Linke in der deutschen bürgerlich-demokratischen Revolution von 1848/49 (Zum Verhältnis von kleinbürgerlicher Demokratie, elementarer Arbeiterbewegung und kommunistischer Vorhut)*, in: *Rolle und Formen der Volksbewegung im bürgerlichen Revolutionszyklus*, ed. by M. Kossok, Berlin 1976, pp. 169ff.

Friedrich Engels, Agreement Meeting of July 4, in: MEW, Vol. 5, p. 195.

³⁸ Cf. *ibid*, Die Debatte über den Jacobyschen Antrag, in: *ibid*, pp. 226-228, 230; *Karl Marx*, Die Krisis und die Kontrerevolution, in: *ibid*, pp. 402-404.

³⁹ *Friedrich Engels*, Programs of the Radical Democratic Party and the Left in Frankfurt, in: *Ebenda*, p. 40 f.; see also: *Die Frankfurter Versammlung*, in: *Ebenda*, p. 14 ff. *Neue*

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 40.

⁴¹ *Rheinische Zeitung*, June 19, 21, 22, 26, 1848.

⁴² In this situation, Marx and Engels emphatically invoked the revolutionary influences exerted by the necessary military defensive struggles against the intervention of the external counterrevolution, which posed a deadly threat to the French Revolution – as they did again later in the spring of 1849 during the upswing of the Hungarian Revolution under Lajos Kossuth⁴³. ⁴⁴ Analogous to 1793/94, they hoped that an invasion of tsarist troops into the revolutionized countries of Europe would have the same effect, namely the polarization of the various classes and factions, a radicalization of the revolutionary forces, their strengthening and the eventual gain of power by revolutionary democracy, especially in Germany. At the time, Marx did not rule out the development of a convention and welfare committee in the German revolution if the situation worsened. "If the government continues as before, we will have a convention in the not too distant future – not just for Prussia, but for the whole of Germany – a convention that will be responsible for suppressing the civil war of our twenty Vendéans and the inevitable Russian war by all means."⁴⁵ And as late as the spring of 1849, Marx hoped – as can be seen from a letter to Andreas Stifft – that such a convention could emerge in Germany in the wake of a revolutionary upswing during the imperial constitutional campaign.⁶⁴

The comparison between the two *French* revolutions of 1789 and 1848 was dominated by the question of the fundamentally different conditions under which they took place and the correspondingly changed objective tasks and possibilities. Marx's and Engels' articles on France and the other French correspondence in the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung", the majority of which – as mentioned – were penned by Ferdinand Wolff⁴⁷, concentrated on four aspects in particular in this comparison of revolutions.

Firstly, the communists warned emphatically against transferring republican ideas and slogans from the Great Revolution to the movement of 1848.⁴⁸ An undifferentiated reference to the 1793 traditions in particular would be misleading, as conditions had changed and the former anti-feudal unity had dissolved. If certain conflicts of interest between the bourgeoisie and the people could still be whitewashed nationally under patriotic slogans in 1789, this was an expression of a real situation,

⁴² Ibid., September 9, 1848: "The proceedings of the National Convention on Louis Capet, ex-king of France (conclusion of nos. 19, 21, 22, 26)" with the concluding excerpt from the minutes of the National Convention of January 15, 17, 19 and 20, 1793, in which the death sentence for Louis Capet was decreed.

⁴³ *Friedrich Engels*, Der magyarische Kampf, in: MEW, vol. 6, p. 165 f.; *hes*, Die Niederlage der Piemontesen, in: *ibid.*, p. 388f.

⁴⁴ *Ders.*, Der dänisch-preußische Waffenstillstand, in: MEW, Vol. 5, p. 397; *ibid.*, Die Ratifikation des Waffenstillstands, in: *Ebenda*, p. 409.

⁴⁵ *Marx*, The Crisis and the Counter-Revolution, in: *ibid.* p. 403.

⁴⁶ Karl Marx to Andreas Stifft, May 6, 1849, in: MEWA, III/3, Berlin 1981, p. 22.

⁴⁷ Cf. *Walter Schmidt*, Ferdinand Wolff. Zur Biographie eines kommunistischen Journalisten an der Seite von Marx und Engels 1848/49, Sitzungsberichte der AdW der DDR, 3/G 1983, Berlin 1983.

⁴⁸ *Marx*, Die Pariser "Reforme" über die französischen Zustände, in: MEW, vol. 5, pp. 448–490; also *ibid.*, The June Revolution, in: *ibid.*, p. 134.

in which these contrasts were still undeveloped. In 1848, however, this was merely an escape from completely different social conditions.

Secondly, the main interest of the Communists, as the conscious vanguard of the working class, was understandably directed towards the most important new feature of the French Revolution of 1889, the activities of the French proletariat, which constituted itself as a class and acted independently.⁴⁹ More than in any other revolutionized country in Europe already emphatically set the course of the bourgeois revolution. The prelude to this revolution, the Paris February Revolution, in which a united front of all forces interested in the overthrow of the July Monarchy, from the bourgeois republicans to the petty-bourgeois democrats and the working class, had already made it clear that the Paris proletariat not only proved to be the most powerful revolutionary driving force, but also already had the strength to temporarily wring essential concessions from the bourgeoisie. From the very beginning, the clashes between the bourgeoisie and the working class were the pivot of the whole revolution.

The "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" devoted the greatest attention to this new quality of bourgeois revolution, which was the most significant compared to 1789. Following the communist concept of revolution, the editors focused on a possible transition of the bourgeois revolution into a proletarian-socialist upheaval, as it were from a shortened perspective of the development of the revolution. The Paris insurrection of June 1848 in particular clearly highlighted the new quality of historical class struggles in France in the middle of the 19th century. This uprising was already anti-bourgeois in a completely different way to the Jacobin phase of the 1789 revolution. The Battle of June no longer represented – even objectively – an element for securing the bourgeois order, but was already a direct attack on this order and therefore, by its very nature, a genuine proletarian uprising.

Thirdly. Nevertheless, Marx and Engels, as sober analysts of the revolution, warned against overestimating the proletarian component in the French revolutionary movement. The course of events gave ample reason to do so. The working class was unable to hold on to any of the gains won in February 1848. The June battle of 1848 was undoubtedly the climax of the class struggles in France, but it was a defeat that largely eliminated the working class as a political power factor. This proletarian insurrection thus remained a highly significant episode, but did not call into question the overall bourgeois character of the French forty-eight movement.

The bourgeoisie remained at its head and initially kept a firm grip on the reins. From the very first day, the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" therefore took a firm stand against the widespread illusion that the February Revolution had already paved the way for the workers' liberation.¹

The comparison with the course of the Great French Revolution played a central role in the polemic against such ideas. Ferdinand Wolff in particular invoked

⁴⁹ Cf. *Walter Schmidt*, Die Klassenkämpfe in Frankreich 1848/49 in the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" – ein Beitrag zum Ringen der Kommunisten um die Emanzipation der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung, in: BzG, 1968, H. 2, p. 263 IT.

⁵⁰ *News from Paris*, in: MEW, vol. 5, p. 116; *Friedrich Engels*, Der 25. Juni, in: Ebenda, p. 132; *Marx*, The June Revolution, in: Ibid., p. 133 ff.

⁵¹ Cf. *Neue Rheinische Zeitung – France 1848/49*, pp. 14–16.

He made it clear that the French Revolution of 1789 was a great bourgeois revolution because it solved its tasks with consistency. In contrast, the French revolution of 1848 was not able to meet the requirements of a social revolution of the proletariat. In contrast to 1793/94, when feudal property relations were radically abolished and the bourgeois order installed, the revolutionary proletarians of 1848 succeeded in changing the political form of bourgeois rule, but not in touching its economic-social foundations.⁵² Instead, bourgeois property relations remained in place. However, this also made it possible and unavoidable to reaffirm the political bourgeois rule, which was quite unstable in February, by making all the social concessions initially made to the proletariat.⁵³

Fourthly, the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" dealt intensively with the social position of the non-proletarian working classes and strata, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry, which had changed fundamentally since 1789. After the February Revolution, the bourgeois republicans in the Provisional Government had managed to win over the urban petty bourgeoisie to their side, so that the workers stood alone in the Battle of June 1848 in Paris. The petty-bourgeois sense of property had proved to be stronger than the objective common ground between workers and petty bourgeoisie, which was based on the fact that both classes were subject to exploitation by the big bourgeoisie. When, immediately after the June defeat, the constituent National Assembly rejected a proposed law to defer payment of bills of exchange and rents, which was in the interests of craftsmen and traders, the editors took this big bourgeois rejection of petty bourgeois claims as an opportunity to explain the exploitative relationship between the petty bourgeoisie and the big bourgeoisie.⁵⁴ The "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" also welcomed the renewed political rapprochement between the petty bourgeois and proletarian wings of French democracy since the fall of 1848, which was based on common anti-bourgeois demands.⁵⁵

The editorial team took a far greater interest in the behavior of the French peasant farmers.

⁵² **Ferdinand Wolff**, *Cassidiere, Blanc und Ledru-Rollin*, NRhZ, September 1, 1848; *ibid.*, *Die baumwollenen Mützen, die Rosen, die Revolution und die Rothschilde*, NRhZ, September 2, 1848, in: *Ebenda*, pp. 103-107. *ibid.*, *Blanc, Cassidiere, Ledru-Rollin vor ihren Anklägern*, NRhZ, August 30, 1848, in: *Ebenda*, p. 101:

"Corrupt France was politically overthrown on February 24. February; the political top of French society had been overthrown. The corrupt society itself, and that in the corrupt

♦The people's acquired rights still existed, but without bayonets, without protection. The breath of the people threatened to overturn these conditions as well. The bourgeois trembled . . . They humbly recognized the republic You can kill a man, but not a company. The

French democrats arrived too late. By proclaiming the inviolability of property, they confused ownership with property relations. The people believed that by changing

The overthrow of the political conditions had not changed its social conditions. The maintenance of the social bourgeois relations also brought back the old political bourgeois relations, and nothing had changed in the situation of the people. All the struggles after February 24 were a struggle against these conditions. . . The money men, the steam men, the men of capital remained in power and pushed forward the bourgeois republican Marast as a straw man." Cf. also **his**, *Die Konstitution*, NRhZ, September 6, 1848, in: *ibid.* p. 110-116.

⁵⁴ *Die Nationalversammlung vom 18. und 19.*, NRhZ, August 25, 1848, in: *Ebenda*, pp. 95-98.

⁵⁵ *The banquet. - Uniting the Mountain with the Socialist Party*, NRhZ, March 3, 1849, in: *Ibid.*, S. 242-246.

against it.⁵⁶ Ndeh we do not find in the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" itself the classic comparison that Marx made in his post-revolutionary writings between the economic-social situation and the political attitude of the French peasants in 1889 and 1848.⁵⁷ But in his handwritten travel notes "From Paris to Berne"⁵⁸, which were not published at the time, Engels nevertheless made a significant advance on this comparison, which was extremely important for the further development of communist alliance politics. Engels gave the first historical outline in Marxist thought of the changes in the attitude of the French peasants to the bourgeois revolution.

Engels assumed that in the "first French revolution" the peasants always took a revolutionary stance when and as long as their "most tangible private interest" was pacified, i.e. they were given "the right of ownership to their land, which had hitherto been cultivated under feudal conditions".⁵⁹ This clearly expressed an essential insight for alliance politics: the peasants could only be won over to the revolution by taking into account and satisfying their immediate interests. Engels explained the enthusiasm of the peasants for Napoleon I, for whose rule they provided the social "mainstay", by the fact that the French emperor "consolidated the new property relations of the peasants and sanctioned them in his Code civil".⁶⁰ The French peasantry, on the other hand, hated Bourbon rule, which threatened "their entire revolutionary conquest", and they welcomed the July Revolution all the more passionately, which gave them "the security of property . . . brought them back".⁶¹ Since then, Engels believed, the participation of the peasants in the general interests of the country ceased, even though their social situation deteriorated rapidly after 1830.

However, Engels then analyzed for the first time the economic and social change in position that the class of French parcel farmers had undergone from the time the feudal yoke was thrown off until the middle of the 19th century. Drawing on reflections from the Vormärz period⁶², he showed how the peasants became impoverished as a result of the increasing subdivision of land and came increasingly under the pressure of "big capital".⁶³ In contrast to the proletariat, however, the now capitalistically exploited peasantry was able to understand this exploitation merely as a private relationship between peasant and creditor and not as a new "class relationship between the class of large capitalists and that of small landowners" due to its position as a simple producer of goods. Since the peasant is "sucked dry and ruined according to exactly the same legal principles under which alone his property is secured"⁶⁴, mortgage usury is not capable of hurling him into the revolutionary movement. Because of this complicated social

⁵⁶ Cf. *Werner Loch*, *Bauern und bürgerlich-demokratische Revolution in Frankreich. The French peasants in the field of tension between revolution, democracy and political reaction between 1848 and 1851/52*, in : *Peasants and Bourgeois Revolution*, p. 189 ff.

⁵⁷ *Karl Marx*, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, in : MEW, vol. 8, p. 198 ff. Cf. also *Ernst Engelberg*, *Theorie und Praxis des Formationswechsels (1846 to 1852)*, in : *Formationstheorie und Geschichte*, ed. by E. Engelberg and W. Küttler, Berlin 1978, p. 129ff.

⁵⁸ *Friedrich Engels*, *From Paris to Berne*, in: MEW, vol. 5, pp. 471-475.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 472 .

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ders.*, *The Movements of 1847*, in : MEW, vol. 4, p. 499.

⁶³ *Ders.*, *From Paris to Bern*, p. 473.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.* -

Given the privileged position of the small landowner, Engels saw little chance of winning the French peasant farmer over to the revolutionary struggle to abolish the capitalist order. Even an immediate suppression of all mortgage debtors seemed to him to be only a temporary postponement. He even feared that the French proletariat would not be able to avoid it in order to assert its demands, "first to suppress a general peasant war".⁶⁵

This rather gloomy perspective was also based on the experiences that could be derived from the behavior of the French peasants between February and December 1848. From the very first day, the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" had had to report on the peasantry's *Protest* against the 1789 negative attitude towards the revolution. With the introduction of the 45-centimes tax, the Provisional Government had done its part to alienate the peasants instead of binding them to the revolution.⁶⁶ This was harshly criticized by the German Communists. It is true that

They briefly had hope that a *Jacquerie* could emerge from this, for which it, as recent research shows, there were clear signs of this. However, the French correspondents, namely Ferdinand Wolff, realized early on that the peasantry would ultimately become a reservoir for the counter-revolution. The hostility to the June battle left no doubt about this. And the disputes over the presidential election have already been commented on in such a way that the construction of a new social pillar of a *peasant republic* could become a new Bonapartist dictatorship.⁶⁸ The election result gave the communists were right. The peasants raised Napoleon to the shield. Engels summed up all these events in his reflections of December 1848.⁶⁹

Afterwards, however, a surprisingly contrary development set in. Even Napoleon's social demagoguery was unable to resolve the new objective contradictions between big capital and the small parcel farmers. After Napoleon's election the peasants quickly became disillusioned with their supposed savior as a result of a series of anti-farmer government measures.⁷⁰ A clever peasant policy on the part of the French Social Democrats accelerated this process. A significant part of the French peasantry began to join the revolutionary-democratic bloc of the urban petty bourgeoisie and the proletariat. It now also became clear on the surface that the French peasants were no longer being pushed into a revolutionary stance, albeit one that was now anti-bourgeois, because of their hostility to feudalism as in 1789, but because of their exploitation by capital.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 475.

⁶⁶ The tax of 45 centimes on landed property, NRhZ, June 20, 1848, in: *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* – France 1848/49, p. 65 f.

⁶⁷ *Neue Jacquerie*, NRhZ, June 21, 1848, in: On the peasant movements in the French Revolution of 1848, see *Albert M. Soboul*, *La question paysanne en 1848*, in: *La Pensee*, No. 18, 1948, p. 64 ff., Russian: *Krest'janskij vopros v 1848 godu*, in: ders., *Iz istorii velikoj butiaznoj revoljucii 1789–1794 godu i revoljucii 1848 goda vo francii*, Moskva 1960, p. 20ff. Also *Peter H. Amann*, *Die Konturen der Revolution von 1848 im Wandel*, in: *The European Revolutions of 1848*, ed. by H. Stuke and W. Forstmann, Königstein/Ts. 1979, p. 100 ff.

⁶⁸ The presidential election, NRhZ, October 29, 1848; Louis Napoleon, NRhZ, 21. November 1848, in: *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* – France 1848/49, pp. 120–122, 135 f.

⁶⁹ *Engels*, *From Paris to Bern*, p. 473 f.

⁷⁰ See *Loch*, *Bauern und bürgerlich-demokratische Revolution in Frankreich*, p. 197f.

were. The French Social Democrats had struck a "Rappel du Milliard".⁷¹ They demanded that the impoverished parcel farmers be given the billion that the Bourbons had paid the returning noble emigrants in 1825 as compensation for their estates confiscated during the Great Revolution. This met with a broad, passionate response among the inhabitants of the countryside. A movement swept through large parts of the country. The legislative elections on May 19, 1849 brought the Social Democrats around a third of all votes. And numerous rural electoral districts played a large part in this.⁷²

The "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" took this sensational turn in the position of the French peasantry immediately took note of the revolution with satisfaction.⁷³ The French

communists corrected many earlier doubts about the revolutionary potency of the peasantry against capitalism. Engels' rather absolute judgment of December 1848 now began to waver. For the first time, revolutionary practice showed quite convincingly that the peasants, exploited by capitalist usury, could very well be bound to a revolution directed against the big bourgeoisie if the revolutionary party took up their immediate social interests and made them its own demands. An editorial lead article in the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" in mid-March 1849 described the demand for billions as "the first revolutionary measure to drag the peasants into the revolution."⁷⁴ The communist party had undergone an important learning process. The practice of the revolution had taught it to recognize "that in the struggle to overthrow capitalism, the workers not only urgently need the peasants as allies, but that such a connection between the working class and the peasantry can also be achieved. Thus, already during the revolution of 1848/49, core questions of politics and tactics were thoroughly discussed and in many ways preparatory work was done for the more far-reaching generalizations that were the subject of the theoretical analyses of Marx and Engels after 1849."⁷⁵ The first processing of the new experiences that took place during the revolution, however, always made use of the historical revolutionary comparison, namely the comparison with the Great French Revolution.

⁷¹ Cf. Schmidt, *Die Klassenkämpfe*, p. 295 ff.

⁷² F. V. Potjomkin/A. J. Mo/ok (editors), *Revoljucii 1848–1849*, Moskva 1952, vol. II, p. 7 ff.; Maurice Agulhon, *1848 ou l'apprentissage de la République. 1848–1852*, Paris 1973, p. 91 ff.; Gilbert Ziebur, *France 1789–1870. Entstehung einer bürgerlichen Gesellschaftsformation*, Frankfurt a. M./New York 1979, p. 151; A. Mann, *Die Konturen der Revolution*, p. 101 f.

⁷³ Die Bauern, NRhZ, January 22, 1849; Leon Faucher, die Bank und die Milliarde, NRhZ, February 23, 1849; Die Bank Proudhons, die Milliarde und Italien, NRhZ, March 31, 1849; Propaganda auf dem Lande, NRhZ, April 13, 1849, in: *Neue Rheinische Zeitung – Frankreich 1848/49*, pp. 197f., 237–241, 283–286, 300 f. See also Walter Schmidt, *Kommunisten, Arbeiterklasse und Bauern in der Revolution von 1848/49. Zur Stellung von Marx und Engels zur Bauernfrage*, in: *Der deutsche Bauernkrieg 1524/25. Geschichte – Traditionen – Lehren*, ed. by G. Brendler and A. Laube, Berlin 1977, p. 358 ff.

⁷⁴ The Billion, in: MEW, vol. 6, p. 355.

⁷⁵ For an analysis of the revolutionary comparison 1789–1848 in the post-revolutionary period see Walter Schmidt, *1789 und 1848 im historischen Revolutionsvergleich bei Marx und Engels in der Zeit der Auswertung der Revolutionserfahrungen von 1848/49*, in: *Beiträge zur Marx-Engels-Forschung*, No. 16, Berlin 1984, p. 93 ff.

HELMUT BLEIBER

National consciousness and civic progress.

On the development of German national consciousness in the period of bourgeois upheaval (1789-1871)

The following remarks on the development of German national consciousness during the period of bourgeois upheaval are intended to draw attention to a topic that has not yet been thoroughly examined by the historiography of the GDR. This abstinence is to be explained and understood as an indirect after-effect of German history in the first half of our century. In particular, the abuse of German national sentiments, emotions and desires by fascism inevitably had the effect of discrediting German national development and German national consciousness as such. The necessary reckoning with fascist ideology initially also encompassed historical phenomena that its spokespeople had made use of. The work "Deutsche Daseinsverfehlung" by Ernst Niekisch or the title of Alexander Abusch's book "Der Irrweg einer Nation"¹ are two of many testimonies to the deep shadow that fascism seemed to cast over the whole of German history.

From the very beginning, the SED placed the revolutionary traditions of the German workers' movement and the German people at the center of its view of German history, in addition to settling accounts with reaction, and opposed views of German history as a continuity of misery, as a consequence of undesirable developments.² In its program and policies, it developed new emphases on the connection between the social and the national. In doing so, it drew on the historical lessons and experiences of the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist national liberation struggle of the people's democracies.

was. countries, which preceded the successful revolutionary upheaval there. But

³ neither the objective nor the subjective conditions of the use of national

¹ *Ernst Niekisch, Deutsche Daseinsverfehlung, Berlin 1946; Alexander Abusch, Der Irrweg einer Nation, Berlin 1946.*

² *Werner Berthold, Marxist History — Popular Front and Anti-Fascist-Democratic Revolution, Berlin 1970 ; Hans Schleier, Zur Entwicklung der marxistisch-leninistischen Geschichtswissenschaft der DDR. Hauptetappen, Institutionen, Forschungsschwerpunkte, in: Gesellschaftswissenschaftliche In formation, Berlin (1982), GW 17, p. 3 ff.; Walter Schmidt, Zur Entwicklung des Erbe- und Traditionsver ständnisses in der Geschichtsschreibung der DDR, in : Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft (ZfG), Vol. 33 (1985), H. 3, p. 195 ff. ; hes., Zur Geschichte der DDR-Geschichtswissenschaft vom Ende des zweiten Weltkrieges bis zur Gegenwart, in: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung (BzG), Vol. 27 (1985), H. 5, p. 614ff.*

³ *Peter Rentsch, Die Nation und das National-Spezifische in der Programmatik und Strategie der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands, Diss. B, Leipzig 1982 .*

The SED's interests in the struggle for social liberation were comparable to those of its brother parties in most people's democratic countries.

The division of Germany, the emergence of two German states and the development of the balance of power between them created new conditions for "national" politics, for the relationship between the social and the national, which were different from those of the European people's democratic countries. These different historical conditions undoubtedly also explain the phenomenon that the historiography of these countries turned much earlier, much more impartially and much more extensively to the broad reappraisal and comprehensive development of their national past than that of the GDR.

This is not the place to trace the stages in the development of Marxist-Leninist historiography in the GDR and especially its understanding of national aspects in the historical process. However, it is indisputable that - for whatever reason - the national problem in German history has remained a research desideratum of Marxist historiography.

Recognizing this does not mean overlooking existing approaches and results. From a philosophical perspective, Alfred Kosing published an in-depth study on the historical materialist theory of the nation.⁴ Walter Schmidt analyzed the currently common bourgeois conceptions of the nation in the FRG and at the same time presented the concept of the development of the bourgeois nation in Germany and the socialist nation in the GDR, which underlies the presentation in the "Grundriß der deutschen Geschichte" and in the "Deutschen Geschichte in zwölf Bänden".⁵ Joachim Streisand commented on the problem of the national character as early as 1956⁶, and Heinrich Scheel devoted two printed lectures specifically to the relationship between nation and revolution.⁷ These and several other works⁸ discuss and establish methodological starting points for dealing with the topic. They can serve as a guidepost for the initiation of larger works. Gradually compensating for the existing deficit of Marxist research on national problems in German history through empirical studies and problematizing observation is an urgent need both for the internal development of the discipline and the further deepening of our view of history, as well as for the debate with bourgeois historiography, which has produced numerous works on various aspects of this topic.

While the older bourgeois historiography in its treatment of the subject

⁴ Alfred Kosing, *Nation in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Berlin 1976.

⁵ Walter Schmidt, *Nation und deutsche Geschichte in der bürgerlichen Ideologie der BRD*, Berlin 1980; *Grundriß der deutschen Geschichte*, Berlin 1979; *Deutsche Geschichte*, Bd. 3: Die Epoche des Übergangs vom Feudalismus zum Kapitalismus von den siebziger Jahren des 15. Jh. bis 1789, Berlin 1983; Bd. 4: Die bürgerliche Umwälzung von 1789 bis 1871, Berlin 1984.

⁶ Joachim Streisand, Das Problem des Nationalcharakters, in: Contributions to a new view of history. To the 60th birthday of Alfred Meusel, edited by Fritz Klein and Joachim Streisand, Berlin 1956, p. 27 ff.

⁷ Heinrich Scheel, *Deutscher Jakobinismus und deutsche Nation*, Berlin 1966 (Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Klasse für Philosophie, Geschichte, Staats-, Rechts- und Wirtschaftswissenschaften, Jg. 1966, Nr. 2); *ders.*, Über das Verhältnis von Nation und Revolution, in: *Börsenblatt für den deutschen Buchhandel*, vol. 142 (1975), no. 19, p. 303 ff.

⁸ See also the analysis of the use of the concept of the people in its ethnic meaning by Marx and Engels in Hermann Strobach, *Zum Volksbegriff bei Marx und Engels*, in: *Das geschichtswissenschaftliche Erbe von Karl Marx*, ed. by Wolfgang Küttler, Berlin 1983, p. 170 ff.

While the modernization theory of nationalism has remained entirely i\mainly bound to problems and methods of the history of ideas, representatives of the more recent and more flexible approach ask the question of "whether and to what extent modern nationalism can be attributed to certain processes of change within society".⁹ The emergence and development of nations are understood as special forms of social development from the perspective of modernization theory.¹⁰ Corresponding attempts and some quite remarkable results are already available."

The aim of the following remarks is to formulate a number of theses, questions and comments in order to raise awareness of the formation of the German nation and German national consciousness during the period of bourgeois upheaval as an object whose closer examination and discussion is a necessary and worthwhile task of modern historiography.

We understand the emergence of nations as an objective historical process that is a consequence and component of the formation and implementation of the capitalist social formation.¹² The formation of the German nation began when capitalist relations of production began to spread. It emerged as a historical experience.

⁹ Otto Dann (ed.), *Nationalism and Social Change*, Hamburg 1978, p. 9.

¹⁰ A pioneering role in overcoming the traditional questions of older bourgeois historiography was played by the work of Karl W. Deutsch, in which the importance of communication for the emergence of nations was emphasized. See *Karl W. Deutsch, Nationalism and Social Communication*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1966 ; *hes., Nationenbildung – Nationalstaat – Integration*, Düsseldorf 1972 . *Miros/av Hroch, Das Erwachen kleiner Nationen als Problem der komparativen sozialgeschichtlichen Forschung*, in: *Sozialstruktur und Organisation europäischer Nationalbewegungen*, ed. by Theodor Schieder with the collaboration of Peter Burian, Munich-Vienna 1971, p. 141 ; see also, *Die Vorkämpfer der nationalen Bewegung bei den kleinen Völkern Europas. Eine vergleichende Analyse zur gesellschaftlichen Schichtung der patriotischen Gruppen*, Prague 1968. - *Robert M. Berdahl, Der deutsche Nationalismus in neuer Sicht*, in: Heinrich August Winkler (ed.), *Nationalismus*, Königstein/Ts. 1978, p. 138 ff. (first published in: *The American Historical Review*, vol. 77 [1972]) also provided important suggestions and new points of view for bourgeois historiography.

¹¹ Otto Dann, *Nationalism and Social Change in Germany 1806-1850*, in : Ders., *Nationalism and sozialer Wandel*, p. 77 ff. ; Wolfgang Zorn, *Sozialgeschichtliche Probleme der nationalen- Bewegung in Deutschland*, in: *Sozialstruktur und Organization europäischer Nationalbewegungen*, p. 97 ff. *Heinrich August Wink/er, -Der Nationalismus und seine Funktion*, in : Ders., *Nationalismus*, p. 6. The questions and methodological approach of Otto Dann's work in particular go beyond the t\additional treatment of the "German question" in bourgeois German historiography. Cf. *Gerhard Ritter, Großdeutsch und kleindeutsch im 19. Jahrhundert*, in: *Schicksalswege deutscher Vergangenheit (Festschrift für Siegfried A. Kaehler)*, ed. by Walter Hubatsch, Düsseldorf 1950, pp. 177 ff. ; *Erich Angermann, Die deutsche Frage 1806 bis 1866*, in: *Reichsgründung 1870 /71*, ed. by Theodor Schieder and Ernst Deuerlein, Stuttgart 1970 , pp. 9ff. ; *Lothar Gall, Die "deutsche Frage" im 19. Jahrhundert*, in: 1871 - *Fragen an die deutsche Geschichte* (Catalog of the historical exhibitions in the Reichstag building in Berlin and in the Paulskirche in Frankfurt am Main on the occasion of the centenary of the founding of the Reich in 1871), Berlin n.d., p. 19 ff. For further references, see *Heinrich August Wink/er/ Thomas Schnabel, Biblio graphie zum Nationalismus*, Göttingen 1979.

¹² Cf. *Alfred Kosing, op. cit.* ; *Walter Schmidt, Nation und deutsche Geschichte in der bürgerlichen Ideo-*

The result of economic, social and ideological processes and protracted class struggles between the bourgeoisie and the masses on the one hand and the feudal nobility on the other. The decisive basis for this development was the development of commodity production and exchange, especially the formation of a national market. The economic relations of capitalist commodity production accelerated the social division of labour, they created the basis for the emergence of centralized class interests, they strengthened the tendency towards political centralization, they promoted the harmonization and unification of language and culture. The development of the capitalist economy was thus the decisive driving force behind the development of the nation.

In addition to the socio-economic factor, the ethnic factor is an equally constitutive element of the nation. Ethnic specifics that distinguish nations from one another are language and characteristic features of culture, way of life, customs, traditions, mentality and social psyche. The ethnic foundations for the later development of a German nation began to form with the emergence of German nationality in the early Middle Ages. The ethnic factors are a necessary aspect of the nation¹³, but the social factors are decisive for the process of nation-building, for the historical type of nation, for its class character and its direction of development.

The formation of the German nation began at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries, when capitalist relations of production began to emerge. The early bourgeois revolution in Germany from 1517 to 1526 provided an important socio-political impetus for the development of a German nation. Its defeat and other factors resulted in a serious setback for capitalist development and thus also for the process of forming a bourgeois nation. In the 18th century, the development of manufactory capitalism took off in several German territories. In the philosophy, literature and music of the Enlightenment and Classical periods, the development of a progressive bourgeois national culture reached a climax. Capitalist development in Germany received significant impetus from the French bourgeois revolution of 1789. Mass movements, the direct military influence of France and the requirements of the anti-Napoleonic liberation struggle forced the introduction of liberal bourgeois reforms in various German territories, including Prussia, and thus the beginning of bourgeois transformation in Germany. Nation-building in Germany was significantly advanced by the bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848/49. Despite its defeat, it brought about the removal of many remaining shackles on the development of capitalism. With the formation of a bourgeois German nation state, the German Empire, the constitution of the bourgeois German nation was completed in 1870/71.

The bourgeoisie played a formative role in the emergence of the bourgeois nation.

logie der BRD; *Wolfgang Brandt*, Zu Fragen der Entstehung und zum Inhalt der von Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels begründeten Theorie der Nation, Diss., Jena 1973.

¹³ The commonality of the ethnic is emphasized by some authors – such as Alfred Kosirg and Walter Schmidt – not always regarded as an indispensable constitutive element of the nation. See *Grundlagen des historischen Materialismus*, Berlin 1976, p. 386; *Walter Schmidt*, Nation und deutsche Geschichte in der bürgerlichen Ideologie der BRD, p. 39; in contrast, *Helmut Bleiber*, Eröffnung der 5. Konferenz der Fachkommission Geschichte der slawischen Völker der Historiker-Gesellschaft der DDR, in: *Letopis*, Series B, vol. 31/1 (1984), p. 7.

out. The national centralization tendencies emanating from economic and social development had to be enforced in the class struggle.

The formation and spread of national consciousness is an immanent part of the formation of nations. The producer and creator of national consciousness is the bourgeois intelligentsia. Following on from elements of an awareness of ethnic distinctiveness that can be traced far back into medieval history, and in continuation of approaches to the formation of national thinking in the 16th century (Luther, the German humanists) and in the 17th century (complaints about German misery during and after the Thirty Years' War), the second half of the 18th century saw an unmistakable upswing in national reflections and aspirations. At the center of this was the lament over Germany's territorial divisions. "We are one people, of one name and [one] language, under one common head, under one constitution, rights and duties determined by the laws, united in a common great interest of freedom," wrote the journalist Friedrich Carl von Moser in his 1765 pamphlet "Von dem deutschen Nationalgeist", "and as we are, we have been for centuries a mystery of political constitution, a prey to our neighbors, an object of their ridicule, . . . powerless through our separation, strong enough to harm ourselves, powerless to save ourselves."

Lawyers, historians and philosophers contributed above all to the development and discussion of national aspects in political and constitutional thinking.¹⁵ With their enrichment of German national literature, the writers of the Enlightenment, Classicism and Romanticism made a fundamental contribution to the development of a German national culture. The specific national concern associated with this manifested itself in the efforts to create a German national theater that began with Lessing.

Of particular importance for the development of national thought and sentiment were Johann Gottfried Herder's ideas on the role of peoples and nations in history of humanity.¹⁶ His emphasis on ethnic elements, especially language and folk culture. The idea of poetry as the actual constitutive factor for nations found a particularly strong resonance in the territorially fragmented Germany - similar to the peoples of Eastern and South-Eastern Europe who **were** dependent on the state. The answer to the question "What is the German fatherland?" in Ernst Moritz Arndt's poem¹⁷, "As far as the German tongue sounds", is just as committed to this idea as Article 1 of the statutes of the League of the Righteous, the forerunner of the League of Communists, which states: "The German League of Justice consists of Germans; that is, of men who belong to the German language and customs."¹⁸

The formation of national consciousness in Germany experienced a significant upswing under the influence of the French Revolution of 1789 and its aftermath.

¹⁴ **Friedrich Carl von Moser**, *Von dem deutschen Nationalgeist*, Frankfurt a. M. 1765, p. 5 f.

¹⁵ Cf. **Gerhard Schilfert**, *Zur Problematik von Staat, Bürgertum und Nation in Deutschland in der Periode des Übergangs vom Feudalismus zum Kapitalismus*, in: *ZfG*, Vol. 11 (1963), H. 3, p. 515 ff.

¹⁶ Cf. most recently **Maria Wawrykowa**, *Johann Gottfried Herder and the Polish idea of the philosophy of History in the first half of the 19th century*, in: *Germanica Wratislaviensia*, vol. 44 (1984), p. 101 ff.; see also **Gerhard Kaiser**, *Pietismus und Patriotismus im literarischen Deutschland*, Wiesbaden 1961.

¹⁷ **Ernst Moritz Arndt**, *Poems*, Berlin 1865, p. 233.

¹⁸ **Deutscher Bund der Kommunisten**, *Dokumente und Materialien*, Bd. I, Berlin 1970, p. 93.

effects. In particular, the experience of Napoleonic foreign rule and the national liberation struggle that developed against it promoted the further theoretical development of German national consciousness.¹⁹ Prussia became the center of hope for bourgeois and nationally minded men, whose reforms, which gave room for bourgeois upheaval, created the conditions to stand up to foreign rule. In 1807/08, the philosopher and former partisan of the French Jacobins Johann Gottlieb Fichte delivered his "Speeches to the German Nation" in Berlin, where men such as Schleiermacher, Arndt and Iahn worked to awaken and spread national consciousness.

While the intellectuals involved in the discussion about the national spirit in the second half of the 18th century had, so to speak, remained entirely among themselves, the historical situation in the form of Napoleonic foreign rule meant that national tones now found a resonance in broader circles of the people.²⁰ For the first time in German history, national consciousness gripped considerable sections of the middle classes and probably also reached peasant and early proletarian circles.

The high hopes of bourgeois progress and national unity that filled the German patriots at the time of the Wars of Liberation were initially dashed by the resistance of the restorative policies of the princes and nobility, who had temporarily accepted the semi-insurrectionary popular movement as an alliance partner in the War of Liberation against Napoleon, but had never allowed its representatives to dominate. But the endeavor to overcome feudal conditions, to create bourgeois conditions and - as an essential part of this objective - to establish a unified German nation state could no longer be suppressed in the long term, neither in political theory nor in political practice. The fraternities dedicated themselves to this task among the students at German universities. As several generations of leading politicians of the liberal, democratic and, to some extent, communist movements emerged from the fraternities, they played the role - to use a modern expression - of cadre schools for the political movements that advanced the bourgeois upheaval. Gymnastics and singing clubs became nurseries and nurturing grounds for the bourgeois striving for progress and for the political movement that was the result.

jumping up and subordinate national desire for a state-unified

Germany.²¹ The Preß- und Vaterlandsverein and the Hambach Festival initiated by it

In 1832, their program aimed at a democratically organized Germany reached wider circles of the people in western and south-western Germany.

¹⁹ *Helmut König*, *Zur Geschichte der bürgerlichen Nationalerziehung in Deutschland zwischen 1807 und 1815*, Part 1, Berlin 1972, Part 2, Berlin 1973; see also *Carl Brinkmann*, *Der Nationalismus und die deutschen Universitäten im Zeitalter der deutschen Erhebung*, Heidelberg 1932, and *Mathys Jolles*, *Das deutsche Nationalbewußtsein im Zeitalter Napoleons*, Frankfurt a. M. 1936.

²⁰ *Wolfgang von Groote*, *Die Entstehung des Nationalbewußtseins in Nordwestdeutschland 1790-1830*, Göttingen 1955; *Hagen Schulze*, *Der Weg zum Nationalstaat. Die deutsche Nationalbewegung vom 18. Jahrhundert bis zur Reichsgründung*, Munich 1985, p. 67 f.

²¹ *Gedanken zur Nationalerziehung aus dem Vormärz*, selected, introduced and explained by *Helmut König*, Berlin 1959; *Willi Schröder*, *Burschenturner im Kampf um Einheit und Freiheit*, Berlin 1967; *Norbert Heise*, *Die Turnbewegung und die Burschenschaften als Verfechter des Einheits- und Freiheitsgedankens in Deutschland 1811-1847*, phil. Diss., Halle 1965; *Dieter Düdling*, *Organized social nationalism in Germany (1808-1847). Bedeutung und Funktion der Turner- und Sängervereine für die deutsche Nationalbewegung*, Munich 1984.

A new, remarkable impulse for the spread of national consciousness in Germany came from the so-called Rhine crisis of 1840.²² The isolation into which France had fallen in the international entanglements surrounding the Oriental question sparked a national agitation in French public opinion, which grew loudly into a demand for the Rhine border. This real or supposed threat to German territory in turn aroused public opinion in the German states. In Prussia and the southern German states in particular, the middle classes and petty bourgeoisie were swept up in a wave of national agitation. Numerous songs in which the Rhine was sung about as a German river were written at this time. A similar reaction was triggered in 1846 when the Danish king, who was also Duke of Schleswig and Holstein, wrote an open letter calling for the two duchies to be integrated into the Danish state. This step met with rejection and protest from the spokesmen of the German anti-feudal opposition movement. A wave of national agitation swept through the duchies and the whole of Germany; their concern was to claim a future for Schleswig and Holstein in the German fatherland, which was striving for unity.

Significant impetus for the formation and dissemination of German national consciousness The bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848/49 was the starting point of the revolution. Unlike 1830/31, the revolutionary movement was no longer limited to a few German states. For the first time, it took on a national dimension. The revolution became a national event. For the first time in German history, an all-national parliament was elected, to which the hopes of constituting a unified German state were directed. The establishment of national unity was the central demand of the bourgeois revolution in Germany. It was directed against the fragmentation of the state, supported and defended by the princes and nobility and originating from feudalism, which had long since become an obstacle to the development of bourgeois relations. The desired unity was meant to be Greater German, i.e. including German-Austria.²³ The first of the "Demands of the Communist Party in Germany" formulated by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in March 1848 reads: "The whole of Germany is declared a united, indivisible republic."²⁴

The petty-bourgeois democratic movement also advocated the unity of Germany – albeit usually in a more federal form. The bourgeoisie's main economic and political concern was the bourgeois nation state. Initially, its representatives also strove for a Greater German solution. Bound to their concept of a compromise with the princes and nobility, and therefore not prepared to revolutionarily break up Prussia and Austria, and confronted with their strict rejection of being absorbed into Germany, there was a growing number of advocates of a small German solution to the formation of a nation state, oriented towards Prussia as the dominant power and accepting the exclusion of German-Austria. The creation of a nation-state that united all German territories would have meant the coming together of the bourgeoisie and the revolutionary popular movement.

²² *Manfred Püschner*, Die Haltung der antifeudalen Opposition und insbesondere ihres demokratisch-links liberalen Flügels zur Rheinliedbewegung in den Jahren 1840 und 1841, Diss. A, Berlin 1984.

²³ *Adolf Rapp*, Großdeutsch – Kleindeutsch. Stimmen aus der Zeit von 1815 bis 1914, Munich 1922 ; *Heidrun von Möller*, Großdeutsch und kleindeutsch. Die Entstehung der Worte in den Jahren 1848.–49, Berlin 1937.

²⁴ *Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels*, Werke, vol. 5, Berlin 1959, p. 3.

This was a possibility that the liberals strictly rejected for fear of this very popular movement. This was the first historical demonstration of what was to become evident on several occasions, namely that the German bourgeoisie willingly abandoned national interests as soon as they appeared to conflict with the safeguarding of its class interests.

The defeat of the revolution included the failure of the attempt to found a democratic nation state. But despite its defeat, the after-effects of the revolution were so strong that its victorious opponents felt compelled to take on the role of its - as Marx put it - executors. The Prussian Junker Bis marck²⁵ developed and realized the concept of a revolution from above, a concept that adopted the basic demands of the bourgeoisie, including the creation of a national state. The German-Danish War of 1864 and the Prussian-Austrian War of 1866 created essential conditions for the formation of a Prussian-dominated nation state with a small German character. The Franco-Prussian War of 1870/71 marked the end of this development. The foundation of the German Empire was the result of a decades-long struggle for a unified German nation state. It marked the end of the period of bourgeois upheaval in Germany and at the same time the conclusion of the process of constituting the bourgeois German nation.

A lack of space makes it impossible to examine in detail the question of the attitude of the various classes to and within the national movement during the period of bourgeois upheaval in Germany. We will therefore only draw attention here to a few aspects and problems, the deeper reflection and empirical-factual examination of which seem indispensable in a closer examination of this topic.

As far as the nobility and especially the high nobility in the form of the ruling princely houses were concerned, they embodied those backward-looking, particularistically anational and anti-national forces that initially stood rigorously and resolutely in the way of bourgeois progress and the desire for a bourgeois nation-state that it entailed. However, the gradual integration of the old feudal class into capitalist society, which took place in the course of the bourgeois upheaval, meant that the resolute rejection of bourgeois demands for a nation state had to be gradually abandoned. In its place came partly enforced toleration, partly hesitant affirmation of the bourgeoisie's aspirations for a nation-state. With regard to the period of the anti-Napoleonic wars of liberation, Franz Mehring spoke of "the bull-headed stubbornness" of the Junkers, "with which they crush every interest of the nation as soon as it endangers their class interests".²⁶ The 1848/49 revolution taught its adaptive representative Otto von Bismarck that Junker class interests required the consideration of basic bourgeois needs, including the desire for a nation state.

The revolution from above in the sixties of the 19th century and the founding of the Reich in 1870/71 undoubtedly only marked the end of a process whose progress and course require further clarification. To pose the question of the development of the relationship between the ruling aristocratic class and the nation or national movement during the period of bourgeois upheaval also requires us to examine the factual and political content of this process.

²⁵ Ernst Engelberg, Bismarck. Urpreuße und Reichsgründer, Berlin 1985.

²⁶ Franz Mehring, Jena and Tilsit. A chapter of East Elbian Junker history, in: Ders, Gesammelte Schriften, vol. 6, Berlin 1965, p. 7.

The question is whether it is possible to understand the national gestures of aristocratic and princely provenance in the pre-March era, such as the building of the Walhalla by Ludwig 1 of Bavaria or the promotion of the Cologne cathedral building project by Frederick William IV of Prussia.²⁷ Can national statements of this and other kinds be reduced solely to tactical maneuvers to deceive the opposition²⁸, or must they also be taken seriously and evaluated as genuine commitment? To formulate a final question worthy of discussion, should the usual and absolutely correct negative assessment of the German Confederation as an institution of the German princes for the mutual assurance of the status quo not be supplemented by the remark that, despite everything, its very existence was a fact that served the national movement of the pre-March and revolutionary period not only as a target for its **criticism**, but also as a predetermined and accepted operational space, as an assumed framework to be filled with new content? Was it necessary for the security interests of the German princes to be guaranteed in the best possible way, however distant and meagre, by this connection to an overall German state? To what extent should its foundation be understood as a concession to the bourgeois-national movement?

The fact that the economic and political needs of the bourgeoisie were the real driving force behind the formation and development of the nation has already been stated and, using the example of the option for the "Kleindeutsche Lösung", reference has also been made to the willingness of this class to abandon national interests and goals if these appeared to conflict with the basic interests of securing exploitation and rule. The ambivalence of bourgeois national aspirations and bourgeois national consciousness in the period under discussion, an ambivalence that is inherent in any progress supported by an exploiting class, will be discussed later. However, all these critical reservations must not block the path to the insight that the bourgeoisie was the actual representative of the capitalist social order, which was progressive in comparison to feudalism, and, supported by the anti-feudal power of the masses, implemented this order and with it the bourgeois German nation state, thereby accomplishing a significant historical achievement that must be recognized as such. The question of which groups of the bourgeoisie in which regions developed, took up and supported national demands, when and to what extent, requires further investigation.

Similarly, empirical studies are needed on the spread of national consciousness in the petty-bourgeois and peasant classes and in the working class. Where and why were peasant and petty-bourgeois classes particularly attached to princely-patrician traditions and ways of thinking and initially not very open to bourgeois-national consciousness? On the other hand, was the national program, as represented at the Hambach Festival in 1832 and then above all in the revolution of 1848/49 by the petty bourgeois-democratic movement, fed by autochthonous democratic sources? If so, where is the dividing line between petty-bourgeois-democratic and bourgeois-liberal national programs and consciousness?

If we assume that democratism is the expression of the specific interests of the

²⁷ Thomas Nipperdey, *Nationalidee und Nationaldenkmal in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert*, in: Ders., *Gesellschaft, Kultur, Theorie. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur neueren Geschichte*, Göttingen 1976, p. 133 ff.

²⁸ This is the explanation given by *Maifred Püschner* for the authorities' tuning into the Rhine song euphoria of 1840/41, op. cit. ; *Ulrich Schulte-Wulwer*, *Die bildenden Künste im Dienste der nationalen Einigung*, in: Jörg Jochen Müller (ed.), *Literaturwissenschaft und Sozialwissenschaften. 2 Germanistik und deutsche Nation 1806 – 1848. Zur Konstituierung bürgerlichen Bewußtseins*, Stuttgart 1974, p. 273 ff.

nationalist attitudes and demands that disregard the legitimate interests of other peoples, as can also be found among the forty-eight, especially from the moderate wing of the petty-bourgeois democratic camp, would give rise to the question of the extent to which their position can really be qualified as democratic. In more general terms, this is about the highly topical problem of the social roots and class basis from which nationalist ideology and politics, i.e. ideology and politics aimed at the oppression of other peoples, grow. Can they be linked exclusively to bourgeois class interests, or can they also be fed by petty-bourgeois interests?

When examining the relationship between national consciousness and the masses, i.e. petty bourgeois, peasants and workers, it should be noted that although national consciousness in the period under discussion was undoubtedly and clearly dominated by the bourgeoisie, it cannot be reduced to bourgeois class interests alone.²⁹ National consciousness in capitalism is primarily, but not only, ideology in the service of the capitalist exploiting class. It also reflects the national interests of the working classes, such as their interest in shaking off or protecting themselves from foreign domination, in the right to their mother tongue and to their specific ethnic and cultural characteristics. Only this fact explains why national consciousness could become mass consciousness.

The recognition and consideration of this side, this multi-layered content of bourgeois national consciousness in the early German workers' movement was made more difficult by the undeniable fact that the spread of national consciousness and the arousal of national emotions made it more difficult to become aware of internal social contradictions even in the period of bourgeois upheaval. The beating of the national drum was ideally suited to drowning out social dissonance. This circumstance explains the "anti-national" exacerbation, for example, in the statements of the utopian workers' communist Wilhelm Weitling on the national euphoria in Germany and France during the Rhine crisis of 1840/41. Weitling resolutely opposed the national anti-French agitation and warned the workers not to allow themselves to be irritated in the front line against their own exploiters. These, he explained to the workers, were always "stranger to them than the Cossack and the Frenchman"³⁰. The sentence from the Communist Manifesto, often quoted in bourgeois literature as evidence of an allegedly anti-national attitude on the part of Marx and Engels and their followers: "The workers have no fatherland"³¹, is similarly aimed at the function of bourgeois national consciousness as a veil that denied the workers a view of the class antithesis to their own bourgeoisie.³² The denunciation of the Social Democrats as journeymen without a fatherland by Kaiser Wilhelm II in 1895³³, which corresponded to a view that was widespread among the bourgeoisie, testifies to a total lack of understanding

²⁹ The idea is also hinted at in *Alfred Kosing*, op. cit. p. 261, 274.

³⁰ Quoted from *Manfred Püschner*, op. cit. p. 166.

³¹ *Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, Werke*, vol. 4, Berlin 1959, p. 479.

³² The path from the equation of national and bourgeois by representatives of the Bund der

The right of Marx and Engels to determine the dialectical relationship between internationalism and the respective national tasks for the members of the League of Communists and the working class as a whole has recently been examined by *Walter Schmidt*, *Nationales und Internationales im Bund der Kommunisten*, in: *ZfG*, vol. 34 (1986), p. 3, pp. 230 ff.

³³ *Werner Conze/Dieter Groh*, *Die Arbeiterbewegung in der nationalen Bewegung. Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie vor, während und nach der Reichsgründung*, Stuttgart 1966, p. 9.

for the internationalist stance of the revolutionary workers' movement and the attempt to discredit it. It does not grasp the historical facts. It is a task that cannot be left to bourgeois historiography³⁴ to describe it in detail, to trace the thoroughly tense relationship between the workers' movement and the national movement, the relationship between the social and the national in the self-understanding of the proletarian movement and in its practical politics during the bourgeois upheaval and in the subsequent period, and to shed further light on it through solid research.

As far as Marx and Engels are concerned, it is well known what part they **played** in national movements – such as those of the Irish and the Poles – insofar as they did not promote the business of political reaction. That their internationalist position did not prevent them from feeling and acting as German patriots at the same time is amply demonstrated by their lives. The chain of evidence that would have to be unrolled could begin with a reference to their practical-political personal commitment to the implementation of social progress in Germany, for example in the revolution of 1848/49, and would not need to end with the recollection of the old Engels's confidential and amusing remark from the year 1893, which was probably fed by deeper sources of consciousness, which reads: "I will never forgive Bismarck for having excluded Austria from Germany, if only because of the Viennese."³

The fact that two imperialist world wars started on German soil in the 20th century, but above all the phenomenon of Nazi rule and the crimes it committed, have prompted numerous historians, politicians and journalists to question German history about the sources and causes of these phenomena. By no means only a few very far-reaching theses have been formulated which claim to have discovered the origins of German fascism in the oldest history. Lines were constructed from Luther to Hitler or even the Germanic tribes were placed in the prehistory of fascism because of the bloodthirstiness of their heroic sagas. Above all, however, the process of constituting the German nation and especially the formation of a German national consciousness in the period of bourgeois upheaval served as an arsenal in which evidence was sought for the thesis of a particularly nationalistically aggressive nature of the Germans that had allegedly always existed and led directly to fascism.

It is not difficult to find evidence of supposed ~~of~~ actual national arrogance in the writings of protagonists of the German nation.³⁷

³⁴ *Hans Mommsen*, *Die Sozialdemokratie und die Nationalitätenfrage im habsburgischen Vielvölkerstaat 1867–1907*, Vienna 1963; *Hans Mommsen*, *Sozialismus und Nation*, in: Ulrich Engelhardt/Volker Sellin/Horst Stuke (eds.), *Soziale Bewegung und politische Verfassung*, Stuttgart 1976, p. 653 ff.; *Hans Mommsen*, *Die sozialistische Arbeiterbewegung und die nationale Frage in der Periode der 1. und II. Internationale*, in: Heinrich August Winkler (ed.), *Nationalismus*, p. 85 ff.; *Hans-Ulrich Wehler*, *Sozialdemokratie und Nationalstaat*, Würzburg 1962.

³⁵ *Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels*, *Werke*, vol. 39, Berlin 1968, p. 113.

³⁶ Based primarily on the analysis of newspapers and magazines from the first post-war years, *Barbro Eberan*, *Luther? Frederick "the Great"? Wagner? Nietzsche? Who was to blame for Hitler? The debate on the question of guilt 1945–1949*, Munich 1983.

³⁷ *Aira Kemiläinen*, *Views on the Mission of the German People at the Turn of the 18th and 19th Centuries*, Helsinki 1956; *hes.*, *Die historische Sendung der Deutschen in Leopold von Ranke's Geschichte*–

Fichte, for example, was deeply imbued with the idea of a special cultural mission of the Germans for humanity. In the Germanism of many patriots of the 18th century, during the War of Liberation, the legitimate struggle against Napoleonic foreign rule and national concerns take on sometimes bizarre forms of exaggeration. Against attempts to see such phenomena as the expression of a trend towards an overvaluation of the national that is unique to German history, the fact that exaggerations of the role of one's own Nation by no means only in German bourgeois national consciousness can be observed.³⁹ The exaggeration of national self-consciousness, the imagination, the idea of having been assigned a special role in the history of mankind seems to be a widespread phenomenon that is generally peculiar to the bourgeois nation-building process. The French and English versions of embodying the grand nation or being God's own people - to cite just a few non-German examples - stand for this view, as do certain aspects of Russian Pan-Slavism or Polish messianism.

As far as the expression of German bourgeois national consciousness is concerned - even if it takes the form of nationalist exaggeration - a historical approach is indispensable for its assessment and classification. Such a method requires understanding the subject from the conditions of its time and, above all, evaluating it according to its function within these conditions. The decisive aspect from which German national consciousness in the period of bourgeois upheaval must be judged arises from the character of that epoch. Nation-building and thus national consciousness were expressions of a historically necessary and progressive process, the rise and implementation of the capitalist social order. A distorted negative picture inevitably emerges if the manifestations of national thinking and feeling of those years are detached from this context and viewed exclusively or predominantly through the lens of the experience of fascist abuse.

To emphasize the historically progressive function of the formation and spread of German national consciousness in the period of bourgeois upheaval is not to overlook the ambivalent character of bourgeois national consciousness. It arises from the fact that bourgeois national consciousness is primarily determined by the class interests of the respective national bourgeoisie, a class whose exploiters and interests of domination are not only directed against the working people of their own nation, but at least potentially always against other nations as well. Schiller's vision of "all men becoming brothers", the idea of the brotherhood of nations, as represented by the Enlightenment and Classicism, proved to be a humanistic-democratic claim that this order could not satisfy as the bourgeois-capitalist order became a social reality. Cosmopolitanism and the brotherhood of nations were replaced by an emphasis on the nation-state, in which the interests of one's own nation, its strength and power, its prestige vis-à-vis or above other nations were paramount.

As an example of this direct link to the economic and political development process, the

denken, Helsinki 1968 ; *Ernst Weymar, Das Selbstverständnis der Deutschen. Ein Bericht über den Geist des Geschichtsunterrichts der höheren Schulen im 19. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 1961.

³⁸ *Rolf Weber, Introduction*, in: Ernst Moritz Arndt, *Erinnerungen 1769-1815*, edited by Rolf Weber, Berlin 1985, p. 28.

³⁹ For examples, see *Eugen Lemberg, Geschichte des Nationalismus in Europa*, Stuttgart 1950.

Friedrich List's concept of the nation-state can be seen as a national thinking oriented towards the needs of the bourgeoisie.⁴⁰ The special interests of national minorities such as the Poles and the Czechs were generally ignored in German bourgeois concepts of the nation state. Ethnically German or related territories that had once belonged to the German Reich and had been separated or seceded, such as Alsace or the Netherlands, were often regarded as natural components of the desired German nation state, without even asking the question of the wishes of the inhabitants concerned.⁴¹ All these are testimonies to bourgeois nationalism in the ascendant phase of the German bourgeoisie, a normal nationalism, if you like, which was by no means unique to German development and which should not be judged primarily in terms of the function of bourgeois nationalism in imperialism.

When it comes to the peculiarities of German development in the 19th century, the specific effects of the generally reformist path of bourgeois upheaval must be pointed out, at least in comparison to French history. While the formation and mass spread of national consciousness in France was shaped by the revolution of 1789-1795 – which in no way means that French national consciousness did not serve the exploitative and ruling interests of the French bourgeoisie – the revolution of 1848/49 could not play a similarly dominant role in Germany. On the contrary, most phases of German history from which particular impulses for the development of national consciousness emanated were characterized by the cooperation between the bourgeoisie and the nobility, with at least formal dominance of the latter. This applies to 1812/13, to 1840 and to the period of the wars of unification. In particular, the fact that the Junker Bismarck and the Prussian army took on the role of executor in the creation of the German nation state left a clear mark on the national consciousness of the Germans. There is certainly a fundamental tension between democracy and the bourgeois nation, which only seems to be resolved in relatively short phases of victorious bourgeois revolutions. The specific nature of the bourgeois upheaval and the emergence of the bourgeois nation in Germany meant that democratic elements could not play a major role in the content of German national consciousness.⁴²

The Prussian character of the bourgeois German nation state, in particular the glorification and hypertrophy of everything military, partly a legacy of older Prussian history and even more a consequence of the role of three victorious wars in the immediate history of the empire, proved to be a burden for its future history. The experience that three wars won by Prussia or under its leadership had the same effect as the failure of the bourgeois-democratic revolution also lent the national consciousness of numerous German contemporaries of those events, as well as future generations, a specificity that could be misused by various imperialist agitators for their policy of aggression in the 20th century.

⁴⁰ Friedrich List, *Das nationale System der Politischen Ökonomie*, Stuttgart-Tübingen 1841.

⁴¹ Cf. Günter Wollstein, *The "Greater Germany" of the Paulskirche. National goals in the bourgeois Revolution 1848/49*, Düsseldorf 1977; ders., *Mitteleuropa und Großdeutschland – Visionen der Revolution 1848/49. Nationale Ziele in der deutschen Revolution*, in: *The German Revolution of 1848/49*, ed. by Dieter Langewiesche, Darmstadt 1983, p. 237 ff.

⁴² Alfreti Kosing, op. cit. p. 276 f.

In addition to the frequently emphasized overvaluation of everything military, attention should be drawn to another aspect that had a negative impact on future German history. Using the example of the German Jacobins, Heinrich Scheel has pointed out that the concept of the national was initially clearly anti-feudal in content and that its use gave expression to a revolutionary intention, namely "the spread of bourgeois democratic and republican sentiment"⁴³, but that efforts were also made very early on by the reaction to give the concepts of nation and patriotism a different meaning that suited them.

The unification of Germany by means of a revolution from above ultimately enabled the political representatives of the ruling exploiting classes to present it as the incarnation of fundamental national interests. The occupation of the national by the Junkerite-grandbourgeois exploiting bloc, the growing combination of national on the one hand and conservative-reactionary on the other, undoubtedly made it more difficult for the workers' movement to decisively and convincingly seize the national and present itself as the main representative of national interests. Despite important political and propaganda steps and efforts against the *Ver sailler Diktat*⁴⁴, the KPD did not succeed in gaining recognition as a guardian of national interests during the years of the Weimar Republic to the extent that would have been necessary to render the national demagoguery of the Nazis ineffective.

While various negative effects of the way in which the German nation state was formed, which were detrimental to future development, can be stated as certain, there must be decisive objection to an unjustified overestimation of such effects, including the construction of a causal chain leading directly to fascism, as has often been put forward by bourgeois historians.⁴⁵ Nor does the thesis, often motivated in very different ways by its individual proponents, according to which the unified bourgeois German nation state was a historical aberration because multi-statehood is a fundamental feature of German democracy, do justice to the progressive content of the formation of a bourgeois German nation state that the anti-feudal opposition movement strived for and ultimately forced.

Using the situation of division in Germany that arose after 1945 as an opportunity to fundamentally question the German nation state founded in the 19th century⁴⁶,

⁴³ Heinrich Scheel, *On the Relationship between Nation and Revolution*, op. cit. p. 305.

⁴⁴ Cf. Fritz David/Eckhard Trümpel/Walter Wimmer, *Gedanken über das Selbstbestimmungsrecht des deutschen Volkes*, in: BzG, Vol. 5 (1963), H. 4, p. 605; Wolfgang Ruge, *Das Ende von Weimar. Monopolkapital und Hitler*, Berlin 1983, p. 85 ff.

⁴⁵ On the "theory" of the German Sonderweg, see Konrad Irmischler, "Deutscher Sonderweg" und bürgerliche Umwälzung in Deutschland – Aspekte einer aktuellen Diskussion in der bürgerlichen Historiographie, in: *Social Transformations in History. Paths and Forces, Leading and Driving Forces. Discussion contributions from the Academy for Social Sciences at the Central Committee of the SED in the working groups of the VII Historians' Congress of the GDR from December 6-9, 1982 in Berlin. Thematische Information und Dokumentation der Akademie für Gesellschaftswissenschaften beim ZK der SED, Reihe B, H. 36*, p. 107 ff.; Walter Schmidt, Rezension zu David Blackbourn/Geoff Eley, *Mythen deutscher Geschichtsschreibung. Die gescheiterte bürgerliche Revolution von 1848*, Frankfurt a. M./ (West-)Berlin/Wien 1980, in: ZfG, Vol. 31 (1983), H. 12, pp. 115 f.

⁴⁶ See, for example, Wolfgang Sauer, *Das Problem des deutschen Nationalstaates*, in: *Moderne deutsche Sozialgeschichte*, ed. by Hans-Ulrich Wehler, Cologne 1976, p. 40 7.

is a procedure that clouds rather than illuminates the view of historical reality. With regard to the nation, it has been correctly emphasized that it is part of its nature to possess a high degree of stability, and that extraordinary circumstances are required in order to question its historically established existence, circumstances that are not to be sought solely within the nation, but in the epochal dimension and internationalization of class confrontation in our time.⁴⁷ It is not recourse to the history of the struggle for unity and freedom and the Bismarckian Empire in the 19th century, but the analysis of the systemic conflict between socialism and capitalism in the 20th century explains above all the emergence of German fascism and the concrete modalities of the division of Germany as a result of its defeat.

Starting from the current existence of two - or as some bourgeois historians, including Austria, believe: three⁴⁸ - states on the soil of historical Germany, to declare particularism and federalism to be the constants of German history that were only temporarily disturbed by the formation of the nation state⁴⁹ is a problematic procedure because - regardless of its motivation - it turns a phenomenon of our historical past into something normal and positive that has hindered social progress in the form of the bourgeois order for centuries. In the objective statement and at least in the case of the FRG historian Michael Stünner⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Günter Benser "Sozialistische Nation und nationale Politik in der Geschichte der DDR. Remarks on research and discussion questions, in : *Zur Formierung der sozialistischen deutschen Nation* (= *Akademie für Gesellschaftswissenschaften beim ZK der SED, Thematische Information und Dokumentation, Reihe A*, H. 42), Berlin 1984, p. 31 f.

⁴⁸ Karl Dietrich Erdmann, *Three states — two nations — one 'people'? Reflections on a German history since the division*, in : *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht*, Vol. 36 (1985), H. 10, p. 671 ff.

⁴⁹ "German history, seen not as an inevitable development towards German unity, but as a *The development of German diversity, which, however, had been interrupted by the striving for power of one of these parts with open violence in warlike undertakings - such a view of German history allows the events after 1945, the new division of Germany into three states, to be seen in a completely different light, in the light of a return to an interrupted development, a return to the original path of German history, a variety of realizations of a German nation.*" Thus Fritz Fellner, *Die Historiographie zur österreichisch-deutschen Problematik als Spiegel der nationalpolitischen Diskussion*, in: *Österreich und die deutsche Frage im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Heinrich Lutz and Helmut Rumpler, Vienna 1982, p. 58. *The revaluation of German small and medium-sized states is the basic idea of the work by Helmut Rumpler, Die deutsche Politik des Freiherrn von Beust 1848-1850. Zur Problematik mittelstaatlicher Reformpolitik im Zeitalter der Pauls kirche*, Vienna-Cologne-Graz 1972 ; hes, *Federalism as a Problem of the German Constitutional History of the 19. Jahrhunderts (1815-1871)*, in : *Der Staat*, vol. 16 (1977), p. 215ff. See also Michael Derndarsky, *Österreich und der deutsche Bund 1815-1866*, in: *Österreich und die deutsche Frage im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, p. 116 ; and WolfD. Gruner, *The German Question. Ein Problem der europäischen Geschichte seit 1800*, Munich 1985, and Heinrich Lutz, *zwischen Habsburg und Preußen. Germany 1815-1866*, Berlin (West) 1985.

⁵⁰ Michael Stürmer, *Nationalstaat und Massendemokratie im Mächtesystem 1848 oder die Geburt des Dilemmas*, in : *Die deutsche Frage im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Josef Becker and Andreas Hillgruber, Munich 1983, p. 37 ff. The author endeavours to mobilize the current concern for the preservation of peace against the revolutionary democracy of the time by pointing out that a divided Germany had been the precondition for the European balance of power since the beginning of the modern era, and by linking this to the consideration that a Germany divided by a victorious revolution in the middle of the 20th century would not be possible.

It is likely that the "founding of a nation state from below in the 19th century would not have been able to avoid the European Great War" (p. 48).

This revaluation of particularism is also directed against the concerns and objectives of the entire anti-feudal opposition movement in the period of bourgeois upheaval.

Marxist-Leninist historiography in the GDR never took part in such unhistorical observations. However, there is also a tendency in some Marxist works to be hypercritical of the founding of the Reich, to negate or disregard the new opportunities for historical progress that it opened up. For the German working class, the founding of the Reich was by no means "irrelevant"⁵¹, but highly significant because it created the national framework for an accelerated capitalist development and for their struggle for democracy and socialism. Wilhelm Liebknecht's statement from 1872 is often quoted as a forward-looking outline of the fate of the Reich founded in 1871: "Born on the battlefield, the child of the coup d'état, war and revolution from above, it must rush restlessly from coup d'état to coup d'état, from war to war and either crumble on the battlefield or succumb to the revolution from below."⁵² This statement is often understood as a far-sighted prognosis of Germany's path into the First and Second World Wars. Such an interpretation is one-sided insofar as it ignores the possible perspective of a victorious "revolution from below" formulated by Liebknecht and striven for by revolutionary social democracy⁵³ and, ultimately, a causal connection between the founding of the Reich and the imperialist war.

suggests.

However, the unleashing of two world wars by German imperialism can no more be attributed causally and primarily to the peculiarities of German nation-state formation and German national consciousness in the 19th century than the fact that in 1918/19 it was not possible to transform the anti-imperialist-democratic revolution into a proletarian revolution. The decisive factor for the particular aggressiveness of German imperialism was not the agreement between the bourgeoisie and the nobility in the 19th century, but the fact that they were late in dividing up the world. The evaluation of negative historical traditions as a determining factor for the particularly aggressive character of German imperialism consequently amounts to an exoneration of the monopoly bourgeoisie from its responsibility for imperialist wars and fascism.⁵⁴ Decisive for missing the historical opportunity of the November Revolution

⁵¹ Karl Lärmer, *Zur Problematik der Periodisierung der Geschichte der Produktivkräfte im 19. Jahrhundert*, in: *Studien zur Geschichte der Produktivkräfte. Deutschland in der Zeit der Industriellen Revolution*, ed. by Karl Lärmer, Berlin 1979, p. 41.

⁵² *The Leipzig treason trial of 1872*, newly edited by Karl-Heinz Leidigkeit, Berlin 1960, p. 256 f.

⁵³ Cf. Engels' remark from 1891, for example: "And we have not to undo the revolution made in 1866 and 1870 from above, but to give it the necessary supplement and improvement through a movement from below." *Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, Werke*, vol. 22, Berlin 1963, S. 236.

⁵⁴ On the relationships between economics, politics and the state in Germany since the end of the 19th century, see Helga Nußbaum/Lotte Zumpke (eds.), *Wirtschaft und Staat in Deutschland. Jh. see Helga Nußbaum/Lotte Zumpke (eds.), Wirtschaft und Staat in Deutschland. Eine Wirtschaftsgeschichte des staatsmonopolistischen Kapitalismus in Deutschland vom Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts bis 1945*, Vol. 1 und 2, Berlin 1978, Vol. 3, Berlin 1980; Kurt Goffweiller, *Großbanken, Industriemonopole, Staat. Ecology and politics of state-monopoly capitalism in Germany 1914-1932*, Berlin 1971; Willibald

1918/19 into a proletarian revolution and the establishment of a socialist German nation state, into which German Austria would in all probability have been incorporated, were primarily the strength of the labor aristocracy and the influence of opportunism in the German labor movement, phenomena that cannot be traced back to the history of the 19th century, but are typical products of imperialist development since the 1990s. The most important roots for the specific features and elements of political and social events in Germany after the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries are not to be found in the peculiarities of German national consciousness, but in the internal and external systemic conditions of German imperialism.

Estate marriage, monopolies, the state and expansion before 1914. On the functional mechanism between industrial monopolies, major banks and state organs in the foreign policy of the German Reich from 1897 to the summer of 1914, Berlin 1986 ; Wolfgang Ruge, op. cit.

Socialists and democrats on the eve of the war of 1866

In the fall of 1865, the "people's crisis", which the social reformist democrat Friedrich Albert Lange had already predicted, entered its most acute stage. It manifested itself as a crisis for almost all parties, which were now faced with new decisions: the liberal Progressive Party had to ask itself to what extent and in what way it could expect its supporters, won over during the military and constitutional conflict, to accept a policy of compromise with Bismarck that was not aimed at overthrowing the conflicting minister, but rather at allowing him to take the lead in the annexation of Schleswig-Holstein and the unification of Zollverein Germany. And should the Conservatives continue to go through thick and thin with Bismarck if he deviated from the principles of legitimist-dynastic solidarity and made too many national and economic policy concessions to the Liberals? Finally, the Social Democrats organized in the Lassallean General German Workers' Association (**ADAV**) had to decide whether they should continue to pursue their policy of rapprochement with Bismarck. The dispute over this question brought the ADAV to the brink of dissolution.

A considerable number of those proletarian supporters who had come to know many liberals as opponents of their interests during the strike battles of 1865 turned away from the Progressive Party; they either became politically passive or tried to reorient themselves. Confidants of Bismarck, such as the conservative publicist Hermann Wagener, who was promoted to government councillor in the spring of 1866, and the senior government councillor responsible for intelligence matters, Zitelmann, observed some events in working-class circles and tried to exploit them politically.

In January 1866, Zitelmann received a report in which it was noted that workers and craftsmen were uninterested in political issues. The leaders of the Progressive Party were completely at a loss.¹ And in a secret report dated February 1, 1866, it was similarly stated that general lectures on revolutionary history could no longer arouse the enthusiasm of the audience. The reporter got to the heart of the matter when he wrote: "In fact, there is now neither a deputy nor any agitator who has a specific goal to work towards. Added to this is the great disunity that prevails in the opposition itself and is also noticeable in the mass of primary voters. In general, however, there is a conspicuous calm among them, which, although not a stormy sultriness, is also difficult to discern whether it is complete resignation or just momentary relaxation."² But there were others too,

¹ Central State Archives Merseburg Rep. 92, Zitelmann estate, folder 78, Bl. 18, 20, 27.

² Ibid. 30.

Workers disappointed by the Progressive Party did not resign themselves, but radicalized themselves by switching from liberalism to petty-bourgeois democracy, i.e. by joining the People's Party. It showed that instability in the mood of the masses which is noticeable even in revolutionary times when there is no purposeful and strong-willed leadership. Even such a revolutionary genius as Lenin, who in certain phases of 1917 observed the ups and downs in the mood of the masses with the utmost attention and reacted to them politically and organizationally with energy, experienced this.³

But who was to lead the workers disappointed by the Progress Party? The secret agents of the Prussian government also asked this question in their own way. Their conclusion, "that the workers are slipping more and more out of the hands of the liberals", they added: "skillful conservative agitation could steer the workers in other directions".⁴ Bismarck and his closest socio-political advisor at the time, Hermann Wagener, knew of course that this advice was unrealistic. For once, junker property aristocrats did not become tribunes of the people. In response to the moving complaint in a secret report that it was

"The Conservatives lack encouraging agitators everywhere," wrote Bismarck with his famous carpenter's pencil in a marginal note: "It is partly due to the fact that the Conservatives are mostly people who have their own regular business and therefore have little time for agitations, also because they are honorable and calm, but are less zealous." Of all the propertied classes, the conservative Junkers of the social and emotional-spiritual habitus of the people is least suited to mass agitation.

For this political business, Bismarck had to rely on the Lassalleans and some democrats associated with them. He had already recognized at the beginning of the 1850s that those who waged their struggle almost exclusively against the bourgeoisie could very well become his allies in due course. When he then learned in early 1866 that the Lassallean "Social-Democrat" was in desperate financial difficulties⁵, it was only natural, given Bismarck's political style, to pledge appropriate funds to this organ. In fact, it has been proven today that J. B. von Hofstetten, the co-editor and co-owner of the "Social-Demokrat", on April 6, 1866, he received a non-interest-bearing loan of 2,500 thalers from Bismarck. This happened in the very days when Bismarck appeared before the German and international public with his motion in the Bundestag that a German parliament should be established on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage. In any case, this right to vote was one of the main slogans of Lassallean propaganda from the very beginning. Johann Baptist v. Schweitzer, the leading head of the Lassalleans, who was convicted of press offenses and so-called disturbance of the peace in November 1865, was already able to write his series of articles in prison, from which he was soon released, which introduced the reader to Bismarck's policy of revolution from above with extreme skill and attuned him to it.

³ *W. I. Lenin, Works*, vol. 15, p. 29 8.

⁴ Central State Archives Merseburg, Rep. 92, Estate 2, item 1, Folder 78, Bl. 9.

⁵ *Ibid*, Bl. 70, 71.

⁶ *Ibid*, Bl. 18: "Furthermore, von Hofstetten declares that in the past year he contributed 4000 tr. to the 'Social-Demokrat'

and, if the number of subscribers does not increase, he will have to close the paper in the middle of this year."

Beginning with strong words about "Prussian absolutism" and "the Austrian concordat economy", the writer of the article then trumped up: "Prussia this Prussia as it really exists, not as it looks in the minds of the Gotha people - is the property of a ruling family, an absolutist state in its inner essence."⁷ And which democratically-minded worker was not impressed when he read: "Neither Hohenzollern, nor Habsburg! no other reputation is possible for a

German democrats, with Hohenzollern on one side and Habsburg and its vassals on the other. "⁸ Another time Schweitzer wrote no less apodictically: ", . . . the right of the nation is with none of the contending parts. "⁹

Here the writer found himself in agreement with the progressive world of the time. Nor could any energetic worker or craftsman rebel inwardly when J. B. v. Schweitzer poured scorn, derision and anger on the liberal bourgeois who exploited the workers and showed so little democratic combativeness and tactical imagination in their opposition to the Prussian government. "Leading the fight against the absolute governments of Austria and Prussia at the same time, standing on the ground of Germanness, ruthlessly fighting dualism - these weaklings were unable to do this because they trusted in everything, in everything in the world, except their own strength and the strength of the people."¹⁰

The image of the aristocracy and bourgeoisie as enemies that the "Social Democrat" drew initially seemed to correspond to what was expected of a genuine workers' party or "social democracy". Nevertheless, equating the liberal bourgeoisie and the Prussian government to the level of the "one reactionary class" was quite problematic. By condemning the former to the abyss, Schweitzer was able to elevate the latter unawares. This was already implied in his remarks that "the Prussian progressivism is incapable of even the slightest expression towards *men* (!)".¹¹ The liberal bourgeoisie was "absolutely incapable", and its "bottomless impotence" was openly evident.¹² But the bourgeoisie was not powerless, not even so weak that Bismarck did not have to take them into consideration. It was therefore pure grandiloquence when Schweitzer repeatedly declared that Bismarck's parliamentary and electoral bill, with all its anti-Habsburg and national political aims

"a concession not to the liberal bourgeoisie"¹³ 3, but to the General German Workers' Association - the very **ADAV** that only narrowly escaped internal and external dissolution at the time. Precisely because Bismarck had to make concessions to the bourgeoisie, he needed many opposing forces; he therefore did his best to save the Lassallean General German Workers' Association from destruction and at the same time to exploit it.

In order to rule out any anti-Bismarckian alliance possibilities, Schweitzer did not allow any "compromises with a so-called 'people's party' or other elements". The "other elements" were of course such politicians as Wilhelm Liebknecht and August

⁷ *Jean Baptist v. Schweitzer*, Politische Aufsätze und Reden, ed. by F. Mehring, Berlin 1912, p. 125.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 143.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 146, emphasis mine.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 146 f.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

Bebe! Inciting sectarian fanaticism, Schweitzer later declared to the applause of the **ADAV** general assembly: "The liberal bourgeoisie is impotent in all its shades and the whole difference between the gentlemen of progress and those of the 'People's Party' is that, with equal insignificance, the one shouts somewhat louder than the other." ¹⁴ Schweitzer decreed fiercely that all attempts to go hand in hand with the liberal bourgeoisie against absolutism were "gambled away once and for all".

This renunciation of all possibilities of alliance with liberalism and democracy contained a double pitfall : on the one hand, it weakened the common front against Bismarck, which – however its chances could be assessed – had to be striven for and strengthened for the sake of the democratic education of the people ; on the other hand, it made it easier to defect directly to Bismarck. If there were supposedly no possibilities of alliance for a workers' party at that time, then, as Schweitzer said, the only question was whether Prussia or Austria should rule Germany; a third party was "no longer possible in Germany at this moment and for the time being". He repeated this shortly afterwards: "Only two contending parts of decisive importance are present in Germany at this moment: Austria and Prussia." ¹⁵ Anyone who deliberately simplified the balance of power in this way and summarily negated the democratic front was bound to raise the further question of which of the two great powers was not only the lesser evil, but could also possibly become the promising partner. On May 20, 1866, Schweitzer introduced a new argument in this direction: "If the progress for the better in world history had always had to wait for the good will of those in power, it would never have progressed - if it had always had to wait for the independent power of the people, it would seldom have progressed. There is a third thing, that is the cleverly used embarrassment of those in power." ¹⁶ Three weeks later he pursued the same train of thought with even clearer reference to Bismarck: "How does the progress towards the better take place in world history? Rarely by an immediate rallying of popular power ! Mostly by the fact that the people know how to use the opportunities of those in power wisely and safely..... The minister who before

Count von Bismarck, who controlled the Prussian destiny, correctly recognized that he had to fight against the Austrian imperial state not only with Prussian armies, but also with the ideas of the time against Austria." ¹⁷ Schweitzer did see one aspect of Bismarck's policy correctly here; however, by rejecting proletarian and petty-bourgeois democracy as an alliance partner, he not only harmed it in the present, but also weakened its moral and political prestige for the future. It was not enough for him to seek mass assemblies that would actually demand universal suffrage from the Prussian government, and in this he agreed with left-wing democrats.

The Lassalleans also had to answer the question of whether and how the working class should take sides in the dispute between Austria and Prussia. At first Schweitzer answered with a cautious "not yet", only to soon become more decisive: "But if we succeed in driving the Prussian government further along the path of concessions

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 144f.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1 47 f.

to us. . . then we will take sides, not, as liars and simple-minded chatterers say, against the right and freedom of the nation, but against the Austrian government and the federal economy; then we will hope and wish, then we will do what we can to ensure that victory is not with the flags of Austria, but with the flags of Prussia, not with the flags of Benedek, but with the flags of Bismarck and Garibaldi."¹⁸ If Schweitzer's orientation towards Prussia began with seemingly mistrustful speculation, it ended with a declaration of confidence; he mentioned the still unpopular Bonapartist Bismarck in the same breath as the popular democrat Garibaldi.

What resonance did Schweitzer have with the working class? He held the general assembly for the reorganization of the ADAV and its attunement to Bismarck's support in Leipzig of all places; he went into the lions' den, so to speak, into the domain of Liebknecht and Bebe! Nevertheless, the latter remained politically ahead in the Saxon and Thuringian regions, while the Lassalleans were able to consolidate their positions in the two largest cities in Germany, Berlin and Hamburg, as well as in the Rhineland and Westphalia.

The moral and political attitude was quite different in those working-class circles that were under

were under the influence of Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebe! Although they also advocated a separation of the workers from the Progressive Party, as early as mid-March the Leipzig Workers' Education Association decided by a large majority to cancel the "Berliner Volkszeitung", the leading organ of the Progressives. Liebknecht accused the "noble paper" of "denying universal suffrage, denying the right to vote, denying the right to vote. denied universal suffrage, fought against the right of coalition, systematically slandered the democratic opponents of the Progress Party". Bebe! also made an appearance and criticized the "Volkszeitung's" stance on the workers' issue.¹⁹

What happened here was quite suitable for facilitating cooperation with Lassalleans and left democrats and – expressed or unspoken – opening up the perspective of a revolutionary and truly independent workers' party. But precisely because the most politically conscious workers were striving for independence, they had to clarify the question of how they should organize their relationship with the still oppositional bourgeoisie.

Ten days after the resolutions of the Leipzig Workers' Education Association, Bebe! took part in two large workers' meetings in Dresden, which sought to reconcile Lassalle's leanings and left-wing workers' association members. The main speaker was Julius Vahlteich, who had been secretary of the ADAV until January 1864 and had then parted company with Lassalle because of his inner-party dictatorial desires and pro-Bismarck machinations.

The published text of Vahlteich's speech may not be entirely authentic; nevertheless, it allows a judgment to be made about the basic line. Vahlteich believed that the social question could only be

"through the prior attainment of political freedom". It was now advisable to gather all the forces of the people "in order to solve the question of political freedom" and "not to fragment the people's power unnecessarily and prematurely". The true party discipline among the workers must show itself precisely in "reducing the hatred against the bourgeoisie to the right level".²⁰

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

¹⁹ *Der Bote vom Niederrhein* v. 21. 3. 1866.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, supplement on 1. 4. 1866.

Although Vahlteich's tactics differed fundamentally from Schweitzer's, it is clear that they were not the same.

Thirty years later, Franz Mehring pointed out that the bourgeois opposition to a reactionary regime would weaken if many workers joined it. The bourgeoisie would then find itself in the position of fearing the proletariat more than political despotism.²¹ However, this aspect of the relationship between the bourgeoisie and the working class, which is correct in itself, becomes false as soon as it is made absolute. Then one overlooks the fact that Bismarck also accommodated the bourgeoisie because he had recognized its economic and social power and thus its ability to make use of the latent power of the people under certain circumstances. But liberalism also had to take the popular opposition into consideration if it did not want to weaken its position too much vis-à-vis Bismarck. It contributed to the fact that the liberals were reluctant to move over to the Bismarckian camp, and not as a whole.

Bebel and Liebknecht left no stone unturned to bring about unity of action in the anti-Bismarckian popular movement with the ordinary members of the General German Workers' Association. In Saxony in particular, the popular assemblies reached attendance figures in the thousands.

If one disregards the one-sidedness of his campaign against Bismarck's Prussia, Wilhelm Liebknecht did an excellent job in those weeks of combining the social and national political question, the economic interests of the day and the overall future interests of the proletariat in an agitational manner. In a meeting on June 2, 1866 with around 2000 workers in Chemnitz, he demanded reforms to the industrial code: abolition of child labour in factories, ten-hour working hours, agreement on factory regulations between masters and workers, abolition of work books, etc. In terms of national policy, he called for a parliament "that is not a plaything of dynastic interests, but a true parliament of the people, strong enough to carry out the will of the people". The people must organize themselves, he constantly encouraged; *"above all, the fate of Germany rests in the hands of the workers, rests the future of democracy. In every city, the workers must organize themselves."* They should not neglect the social question and should closely follow the efforts of the International Workingmen's Association. "Educate yourselves. Organize yourselves. Do your duty. The liberation of the working class is at stake! The salvation of the fatherland is at stake!"²²

In those turbulent and difficult-to-understand times of upheaval, Liebknecht proved to be a proletarian politician of stature who maintained his independence from the radical petty bourgeoisie without separating himself from it. Doing the one and avoiding the other was all the more important as it was indeed a matter of saving the fatherland at the time, not least to ward off a possible intervention by Napoleon III.

August Bebel in turn had already achieved a closer connection between the Saxon workers' associations in an initially illegally founded Gauverband. As a committee member of the Association of German Workers' Associations, he called for the establishment of a new association at the meeting in Mannheim on

June 10, 1866 and tried to lead the workers into the political movement. Liebknecht, Karl Marx's political confidant, and Bebel, already on the road to socialism at the time, confined themselves to the

²¹ *Die Neue Zeit*, Vol. 15/2, 1897, p. 515.

²² *Deutsches Wochenblatt*, Mannheim, v. 10. 6. 1866, in : *The 1st International in Germany, 1864-1872 . Documents and Materials*, Berlin 1964, p. 122.

revolutionary-democratic agitation. But it was precisely in this way that they created the conditions for their later efforts to develop a socialist consciousness in working-class circles.

Not only in Saxony, but also in the Rhineland and southern Germany, there was a great deal of anger. There, the popular movement was intensified by fears that Bismarck might sacrifice territories on the left bank of the Rhine to Napoleon. It was often difficult to distinguish the workers' movement from that of the petty bourgeois masses. One symptom of the agitation of the masses was the assassination attempt on Bismarck by a southern German student on May 7, 1866. The general political crisis was compounded by the economic crisis, which had been brewing for some time²³ but now suddenly hit the workers.²⁴ A well-known democrat at the time, Wilhelm Angerstein, wrote in the "Deutsches Wochenblatt" that a "thunderous mood" prevailed in Berlin after the assassination, which was mainly caused by the general state of emergency among the workers. Indeed, in early June, workers marched loosely through the streets of Berlin and in front of the town hall on several days. Engels referred to this when he wrote to Marx on June 11: "In Germany things are looking more revolutionary every day. In Berlin and Barmen, the idled workers march threateningly in heaps through the streets."²⁵ However, due to the lack of an experienced party covering the whole of Germany, their potential strength could not yet be translated into purposeful and coordinated action.

tions can be implemented.

This raises the question of Marx and Engels' attitude in the politically and economically crisis-ridden spring of 1866. The approaching danger of war filled both of them with great anxiety. They did not yet have sufficient insight into the military strength and power of the two main opponents, Prussia and Austria. Therefore, their judgments about the duration and outcome of the war were necessarily uncertain. Most of all, they feared a prolonged back and forth in the course of the war, which was bound to provoke foreign intervention, especially from Napoleon. It "remains clear," Marx wrote to Engels on April 6, 1866, "and must become clear even to the German philistines that *without a revolution* in Germany the dogs of Hohenzollern and Habsburg will set our country back again for 50-100 years through civil (dynastic) war."²⁵ The democratic action slogans of 1866 — fighting against the cession of left Rhenish territories to Napoleon, for universal suffrage and simultaneous general armament of the people — came close to the conception of Marx and Engels. They too wanted to prevent the outbreak of war through a revolutionary popular uprising. But if it was not possible to make the dynastic civil war impossible through a revolution, then Engels' main wish was that "the Prussians should be beaten to death" in order to speed up the revolution against Bismarck's regime.²⁶ These were discussions that served to promote self-understanding among friends. What was absurd. However, the fears of Prussian liberals, who anticipated a revolution as soon as Prussia lost even the first battle, are evidence of this. We also know that the Austrian Foreign Minister Count Mensdorff, in discussion with

²³ Ernst Engelberg, *Germany from 1849 to 1871*, 3rd ed. Berlin 1972, p. 195.

²⁴ Rolf Weber, *Kleinbürgerliche Demokraten in der deutschen Einheitsbewegung 1863-1866*, Berlin 1962, S. 256

²⁵ Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, *Werke* (MEW), vol. 31, p. 226.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 204.

²⁶ Engels to Marx on April 2, 1866, in : Ibid, p. 200.

Count Blome, the clerical warmonger, also warned against the war because it could cause a revolution. Mensdorff did not want this even in Prussia, as the repercussions for Central and South-Eastern Europe would have been incalculable. Nevertheless, while Marx and Engels were able to take sides with Austria against the Bonapartist enemy in France in 1859 and with Prussian Germany until the fall of Napoleon III in 1870, it was impossible for them to choose between the "dogs of Hohenzollern and Habsburg" in 1866. In the face of these two dynasties, each of which wanted to establish its supremacy over Germany once and for all, the self-determination of the German people and the independence of the working class had to be emphasized more strongly than ever.

For many weeks, Marx and Engels held back in public. In view of the confusion in the moral and political positions of the opposing or rival states and parties, it was extremely difficult to take sides clearly and confidently. After the former member of the League of Communists, Paul Stumpf, had written from Mainz on June 30, 1866, complaining about Liebknecht's often pro-Austrian stance²⁷ and asking for rules of conduct for political agitation, Karl Marx remained silent. He confessed to Engels: "I did not write to Stumpf precisely because he wanted 'rules of conduct', and my view was that he would do best not to 'conduct himself' at all before events had decided. This was an opinion that I rather did not consider it good to give him in writing."²⁸ Engels had already mocked earlier: "Stumpf did not need to write to me that brother Liebknecht would ride himself into a fanatical Austrianism, that could not be otherwise."²⁹ Friedrich Engels was not being fair here. What was "brother Liebknecht" supposed to say to the workers in the industrial cities and towns of Saxony? He could not remain silent, nor could he tackle the prevailing mood head-on, especially as everyone knew that Saxony could become a deployment zone for Prussian armies, and indeed it did.

The bourgeoisie, whose socio-economic and national concerns were directly at stake at the time, could choose between two evils, Prussia or Austria – between evils insofar as they had to renounce the direct exercise of political power in both cases. For Franz Mehring, in a historical review of 1912, it was a "common ground" that "the victory of Prussia in 1866, as in 1870 and 1871, was in fact the lesser evil".³⁰ Prussia was, after all, the economically more advanced and nationally more homogeneous country. However, Mehring drew the wrong conclusions from a correct premise by defending Schweitzer's pro-Prussian tactics. From the point of view of the present and future interests of the working class, on the other hand, its avant-garde had to adopt the slogan of neutrality towards the two contending main powers (the two evils).

The General Council of the First International had finally come to this conclusion. It was not yet an elected body – the first congress of the International would not convene until September 1866 – and was still far from being a politically unified body.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 288.

²⁸ Marx to Engels on July 27, 1866, in : Ibid, p. 242.

²⁹ Engels to Marx on July 25, 1866, in : Ebenda, p. 241 ; cf. Stumpf to Engels on July 15, 1866, in : Ebenda, S. 652.

³⁰ *Schweitzer*, Political Essays and Speeches, edited by Franz Mehring, Berlin 1912.

corps", as the secretary responsible for the Swiss organizations, Jung, complained. He was particularly upset about those English General Council members who "are not convinced of the need for radical change in society", who use an international organization "as a thoroughly national instrument" and who are personally "lukewarm and without energy", and who, moreover, as compromisers, cannot raise and answer any question clearly.³¹

In the General Council, the attacks of the Proudhonists and some Englishmen had to be rejected.

Garibaldi and Mazzini as allies of Bismarck and as equally important

"bad" like this one.

In general, some of the proposals submitted to the

General Council tended to

The draft resolutions were unilaterally submitted for comment against Prussia.³³ Obviously, the years of fighting in the internal Prussian army and constitutional conflict and the interplay between Prussia and Russia during the Polish uprising had a much stronger resonance in the countries of Western Europe than Austria's creeping concordat economy and foreign rule in Northern Italy. Finally, on July 17, 1866 - i.e. only after the Battle of Königgrätz - the General Council adopted the resolution introduced by the Pole Bobczynski and the Englishman Carter after a few clarifications. It declared the conflict on the continent to be one between governments and advised the workers to be neutral, but to organize and unite for the purpose of their social and political emancipation. The independence of the working class vis-à-vis all other classes and strata and the importance of its own social liberation struggle were thus emphatically emphasized here. All this had nothing to do with the liberal slogan of neutrality of the small and medium-sized German states, which amounted to a de facto partisanship for Prussia.

In connection with the crisis situation of 1866, another problem arose: because for Marx and Engels the main international enemy was still French Bonapartism, they had to act against the Proudhonists, who considered national movements and nations to be obsolete.³⁴ Such cosmopolitanism could indirectly promote the interventionist chauvinism and imperialism of Napoleonic France ideologically.

In the General Council of the 1st International, Marx, polemicizing against his later son-in-law Paul Lafargue, who held Proudhonist views on the national question, rejected the more or less pronounced imposition that "history in all other countries stops and the whole world waits until the French are ready to make a social revolution"³⁵. Unconsciously, Lafargue seemed to be "negating the nationa

to understand their absorption into the French model nation". Marx assumed that proletarian internationalism could best develop politically, ideologically and emotionally when nations, even bourgeois ones, were constituted as states. It was precisely from this point of view that he turned against the cosmopolitan utopia of the Proudhonists at the time of the Prussian-Austrian War and made a considerable theoretical contribution to the question of nationalities. At the same time

³¹ Jung to Johann Philipp Becker, April 1866, photocopy in the IML Berlin, Marx-Engels Department.

³² *The General Council of the First International 1864-1966, Minutes*, Moscow n.d., p. 204.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

³⁴ Typical of this is the "Appeal of the Paris students to the students of Germany and Italy", in: *The Vorbote*, Vol. 1866, p. 103 f.; cf. also Marx to Engels on June 7, 1866, in: MEW, vol. 31, p. 222 f.

³⁵ Marx to Engels on June 20, 1866, in: *Ibid.* p. 229.

In the crisis situation at the time, Marx considered it his main political task to convey the basic concerns of the First International to the workers. Under the banner of proletarian internationalism, he fought both national nihilism and expansionist chauvinism.

With all that was revolutionary about the objective situation in Germany, even Bebel and Liebknecht's tireless activity could not make up for what the petty-bourgeois democrats as a whole had failed to do. Certainly they recognized some of their errors on important questions in those April and May weeks of 1866, when every class and political party was faced with immediate decisions. At the last minute, as it were, they attempted to build an all-German party organization in order to exert a stronger influence on the working people. Even the arch-federalist democrats of Württemberg joined in, temporarily abandoning their destructive stance.

It was the left wing of democracy that turned most strongly to the workers; it was represented by men such as F. A. Lange, Ludwig Büchner, Ludwig Eckardt, August Röcke! and Wilhelm Angerstein. The latter pointedly formulated the view in the "Deutsches Wochenblatt" that "only among the workers . . . can genuine democratic and national sentiment be found".³⁶

Within the petty-bourgeois democracy, however, views differed above all on the parliamentary question, the position on war or peace and the alternative between Austria and Prussia.

The main demand of the popular assemblies dominated by the democrats was for a German parliament. The Württemberg democrats wanted to restrict it to the medium-sized and small states. Others wanted a constituent all-German parliament, which should be based on a parliamentary army or the people's army. All of these demands were illusory insofar as the question of how representation should be appointed and realized was not discussed anywhere and thus remained unanswered.

Only the left-wing democrats were more realistic and at the same time more open here. Ludwig Büchner commented on this in the "Deutsches Wochenblatt": "Even the first step on the road to war and the final break with the previous policy of stagnation has certainly forced one of the contending parties, against its will, to make a concession to popular opinion in Germany and to insist on the appointment of a German parliament. No matter how unruly the hand that offers such a thing may be; no matter how dishonest the intentions that guide it may be, the true man of the people, who fights only for the cause, will not — if it should ever come to that — accept what is offered as a first payment on account. and use it as the first fixed n base from which he could pursue his

position further and further³⁷ forward." So the left-wing Democrats wanted to get back to the Bismarck's offer and exploit it for the national cause. In this — but only in this — they were in agreement with the Lassalleans.

On the other two fundamental issues, the differences within petty-bourgeois democracy were so pronounced that three currents can be distinguished. The left wing wanted the war because it supposedly offered the best opportunity to achieve a democratic revolution. As many points of contact as there were between

³⁶ *Deutsches Wochenblatt* of June 10, 1866; see *Weber*, p. 250.

³⁷ Reprinted in: *Der Bote vom Niederrhein* v. 25. 4. 1866.

The left-wing democrats and the revolutionary leaders of the working class, for the latter the prevention of war was initially in the foreground, especially with regard to the danger of Napoleonic intervention. In terms of the expectation of war, Röcke! In mid-April in the "Frankfurter Reform": "The battle between Hohenzollern and Habsburg is, if it does not break out now, only postponed for a short time and only clears the field for a higher possibility: the struggle of the *German nation* for its freedom and unity. *Cabinet war* or *people's war*, that is the choice presented to the genius of Germany; let those who love peace realize that there is no third option, no possibility of avoiding this alternative."³⁸ On April 16, 1866, Lange wrote to Ludwig Büchner even more blatantly: "Our workers generally want war, but not in the Bismarckian sense, but more *in the hope of unforeseen events*. We would also like to snatch the parliament out of Mr. von Bismarck's hand as quickly as possible before he sneers at us with it.

The mood is that people only want to know something about 'action' and are disgusted by all programs. "³⁹ In the "Boten vom Niederrhein", Lange described the gatherings protesting against the war as pointless; they served "only to cover up a sad lack of moral resistance".⁴⁰ As the left-wing democrats considered the war to be inevitable and almost propagandized it, the will to resist the outbreak of war was weakened. However, further delaying the start of the war would have given opportunities to the rallying efforts of the proletarian and petty-bourgeois opponents of Bismarck.

Büchner also welcomed the impending war in the optimistic expectation that Austria and Prussia would tear each other apart and that the nation would then be saved by the masses. Obviously, unlike Karl Marx, he and his friends believed that the general arming of the people would be possible so quickly that it could also effectively counter a Napoleonic intervention. This was obviously also what Röcke! had in mind when he spoke of a "people's war"; after all, he wrote on May 25: "The old must pass away if the new is to arise; a united, free Germany has no room in it, neither for *Junker/I-military Prussia* nor for *aristocratic-concordatist Austria*, and they must both put an end to each other."⁴¹ However, the majority of democrats were anxious to prevent the fratricidal war as they saw it. The attendance at the meetings they organized throughout southern and central Germany, but also in cities in northern Germany, was, if the correspondence in the "Neue Frankfurter Zeitung" is to be believed, far higher than at the time of the popular movement for the liberation of Schleswig-Holstein. In all these assemblies, from which the radical democrats generally kept their distance, resolutions calling for peace were adopted. Naturally, it emerged from them that they did not want to take sides with either of the two great powers.

In April and May, only a minority of democrats advocated a war against Prussia on the side of Austria. It was led by Leopold Sonnemann, who was becoming increasingly influential through his "Neue Frankfurter Zeitung", and in June was given the

³⁸ *Frankfurt Reform* of April 18, 1866; see *Weber*, p. 245 f.

³⁹ *Friedrich Albert Lange*, *On Politics and Philosophy. Briefe und Leitartikel 1862–1875*, ed. and ed. v. G. Eckert, Duisburg 1968, p. 63.

⁴⁰ *Der Bote vom Niederrhein* v. 4. 4. 1866.

⁴¹ *Frankfurt Reform* of May 25, 1866, emphasis mine.

Overweight. As early as 20 May, in a counter-assembly organized by Sonnemann for the Liberal Congress of Deputies, a resolution was adopted by a majority that took sides with Austria by invoking federal law. The radical democrats, who had not even been invited to this meeting, disagreed with the Frankfurt resolution. It was Ludwig Büchner, in particular, who was outraged on May 26 in the "Deutsches Wochenblatt" that German democrats had sided with Austria and the particularists in the name of federal law. He described it as childish to demand guarantees from Habsburg in the liberal sense.⁴²

On the whole, it must be noted that the democratic petty bourgeoisie had not been able to produce a political party that could have been a clear and secure ally of the proletariat in the struggle for a bourgeois-liberal nation state. At the height of the crisis, the politically active proletariat was divided into pro-Marck Lassallean and often one-sided anti-Prussian Liebknecht Bebel supporters. The workers were still far removed from the possibility of a leading force in society. The fact that an effective political orientation could not be provided by proletarian and petty-bourgeois democracy had a disastrous effect on the actions of the masses. This is why Bebel had to state at the end of his life, which was rich in experience: "But since there was no clear and purposeful leadership in which people had confidence, and no powerful organization to rally the forces, the mood fizzled out. Never did a movement that was excellent at its core run more smoothly."⁴³

⁴² Cf. *Weber*, p. 262.

⁴³ *August Bebel, Ausgewählte Reden und Schriften*, vol. 6, *Aus meinem Leben*, edited by Ursula Herrmann with the collaboration of Wilfried Henze and Ruth Rüdiger, Berlin 1983, p. 101.

WALTER DIETZE

Purple cloaks and dark frocks.

About an unrecognized Lenau quote in Marx

The concise, logically developed and memorably formulated train of thought of the magnificent preface to "Capital" is well known.¹ It is precisely located and dated: London, July 25, 1867, and its forcefulness still has a vivid, unvarnished, inspiring effect today.

Marx begins with a mention of his study "On the Critique of Political Economy", published in 1859, thus hinting at some of the intricate (and even more far-reaching) history of the creation of "Capital". He then gives his potential readers a few hints and clues along the way, knowing full well what immense intellectual energy will be demanded of them over the following 784 pages as they delve into an extraordinarily complicated subject matter, which sometimes also required a complicated form of presentation if it was not to be simplified in any other way. He then states outright that "*the ultimate purpose of this work*" should, according to his intention, be "*to reveal the economic law of motion of modern society*". At the end there are four remarks which already envisage the reception of the printed book by the public: a first "to avoid possible misunderstandings"; a second on the

free scientific research" in the field of political economy; a third

The second and third volumes would be devoted to the following topics; the fourth assures that scientific criticism is welcome, but that it should always be distinguished and separated from the "prejudices of so-called *public opinion*". One could hardly have been more succinct and instructive.

We are only interested here in one particular aspect, which at first glance appears to be of secondary importance, but which is in fact significant with regard to the carefully considered wording of this foreword.² We want to look at the technology and function of the

¹ MEGA, Zweite Abteilung, Vol. 5, Berlin 1983, pp. 11-15, where all quotations in the following text are also found, which are not specifically referenced in footnotes, but only by page and line references in parenthetical citations. - For a basic overview, see above all *Manfred Naumann, Literatur im "Kapital"*, Berlin 1979, where further references are also given.

² The following episode shows that, despite this care, a small blunder, a careless mistake could occasionally be made. In the preface to the first edition of "Capital", the phrase "beyond the transatlantic ocean" had been left out. Engels then mockingly asked Marx on September 9, 1867: "Speaking of which, where does the 'Transatlantic Ocean' flow?" Marx replied under the date of September 11 laconically: "As far as the 'transatlantic ocean' is concerned, it is up to the last corrector to correct such lapsus pennae..." (Here quoted from MEGA, op. cit., p. 696. The text of both letters is not included in MEW, vol. 31, Berlin 1965).

citation that was practiced here. An analysis of the preface that goes beyond this intention, as desirable as it would be, is not initially intended.

I

Three quotations immediately catch the eye in the text of the preface. All three are in foreign languages: one in French, one in Latin and one in Italian. All three are highlighted in italics and thus identified as citations.

Number one is nothing more than an illustrative paraphrase of a thought previously expressed in German: "We suffer," writes Marx (p. 13, line 10 f.), "not only from the living, but also from the dead." To add : "*Le mort saisit le vif!*" In the explanatory notes it is formulated (p. 694) : "*The deceased shakes hands with the living*, i.e. the survivor immediately takes possession of the testator's property upon his death (legal fact according to the Civil Code)."

I can't quite explain where the commentators got the handshake thing from. But their following commentary is correct. A number of dictionaries and specialist lexicons provide similar or identical information.³ Presumably the *phrase* "le mort saisit le vif" was a stereotyped phrase of old, feudalistic law, which later lived on in common usage without its original meaning still being associated with it. Marx apparently uses it to emphasize the *inevitability* of the survival of old thoughts, ideas or *topoi* in the ongoing ideological-historical process. The reference to a "legal fact according to the Code civil" (denoting, so to speak, a natural succession in the most general sense) would therefore be more misleading than precise. What the Code Napoleon says most laconically (and, of course, without using the wording of the colloquial phrase) can be clearly recognized as the setting of civil law norms, namely : "Inheritances are opened by natural and civil death." And: "The possession of the goods, rights and claims of the deceased passes to the legitimate heirs by operation of law; they are, however, obliged to settle all the burdens of the inheritance."⁴ There are no other equivalents in the Napoleonic Code.

Number two is a literal quote with a profound wealth of allusions. Marx

³ For example, *Le Grand Larousse*, *Le Petit Robert* and *Le Grand Robert*. However, Robert Piccard/Emile Thilo/Ernest Steiner, *Rechtswörterbuch französisch-deutsch und deutsch-französisch*, Teil I: Französisch-deutsch, Zurich 1950, p. 359 and 507 f. are the most precise. Here, "Je mort saisit le vif" is equated with "Je vif chasse le mort"; in addition to the translation ("the deceased is immediately followed in possession by the heir, possession passes directly to the heir"), the explanation is also given: "Fiction par laquelle on exprime que l'héritier est immédiatement saisi de la possession des biens du défunt et qu'ainsi il n'y a pas d'interruption dans la propriété." - I am indebted to Dr. Bernhard Hentschel for his research and information on this problem.

⁴ *Code Napoleon*. Avec les changements qui y ont été par la loi du 3 Septembre 1807. Code of Napoleon. With the changes made to it by the law of September 3, 1807. Translated from the French official text by Daniels, Cologne 1807, pp. 299 and 301 — This bilingual edition does not agree in wording, but in spirit, with the German-only text in *Codex Napoleon*. Uebersetzt nach der neuen offiziellen Ausgabe von einer Gesellschaft Rechtsgelehrter und durch Noten erläutert von L. Spielmann, Strasbourg and Paris 1808, pp. 191 and 193.

explains : What I have to research in this work is the *capitalist mode of production* and the corresponding *production and transportation relations*. Its classical site has so far been *England*. This is the reason why it serves as the main illustration of my theoretical development. If, however, the German reader should shrug his shoulders pharisaically over the conditions of the English industrial and agricultural workers, or optimistically reassure himself that things are not nearly so bad in Germany, I must call out to him: *De te fabula narratur !*" (p. 12, lines 27-35).

The origin of this Latin phrase can be found in the "Sermones" of Quintus Horatius Flaccus, in the very first satire of the first book. Verses 68 to 79 read:

Tantalus a labris sitiens fugientia captat
flumina – quid rides? mutato nomine *de te
fabula narratur* : congestis undique saccis
indormis inhians et tamquam parcere sacris
cogeris aut pictis tamquam gaudere tabellis.
nescis, quo valeat nummus, quem praebeat usum?
panis ematur, holus, vini sextarius, adde
quis humanp sibi doleat natura negatis.
an vigilare metu examinem, noctesque diesque
formidare malos fures, incendia, servos,
ne te compilent fugientes, hoc iuvat? horum
semper ego optarim pauperrimus esse bonorum. ⁵

Or in the German prose translation by Otto Schönberger: "Tantalus gasps for the water that keeps receding from his lips – What are you laughing at? You need only change your name and *history* will *speak of you*. You sleep on your moneybags, which you have dragged in from all sides, with your mouth greedily open, and yet you must leave them untouched like sanctuaries, or you may only enjoy them as if they were mere paintings. Do you not know what the money is for and what use it is supposed to be put to?

Vegetables, a glass of wine, plus things that human nature finds painful to lack. Or is that supposed to be a pleasure when you are half-dead with fear and cannot sleep and live day and night in fear of evil thieves, the danger of fire and slaves who could plunder you and then run away? I will always be destitute of such goods for myself."⁶

⁵ *Horace, Satires and Epistles*. Based on the translation by J. K. Schönberger in Latin and German by Otto Schönberger (= *Schriften und Quellen der Alten Welt*. Edited by the Central Institute for Ancient History and Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR. Volume 33), Berlin 1976, p. 38, emphasis mine. - The translation into German given below p. 39.

⁶ In Christoph Martin Wieland's iambic translation, the beginning with the Tantalus parable reads :

. . . Tantalus snaps eternally thirsty
after the water that flows past his thin lips - and
you laugh? Is not the fable your own story
under another name?

(Horace's Satyrs translated from the Latin and provided with introductions and explanatory notes by C. M. Wieland. First part. Second edition. Leipzig 1794, p. 16). A translation in hexa

The example shows very nicely that Marx was not interested in showing off his education, not in quoting for the sake of quoting, but in giving his audience, so to speak, a "double optics". For the reader who knows how to translate the meaning of the Horatian sentence into his mother tongue, but who is unaware of its origin, the illustrative effect is the same as in the above example. For the classically educated reader, however, who also "knows where it's written", the possibility of a special aesthetic pleasure arises from the fact that he can mentally conjure up how much the first satire revolves around poverty and wealth, money, money acquisition, money waste, money as a means of exchange and circulation and related topics (it is no coincidence that it is dedicated to Maecenas, who was "vitally important" to Horace). - so that, if the expression is allowed, it is above all a question of a very "adequate" citation, which also corresponds directly to the subject matter dealt with by Marx on the spot. Marx could easily have chosen the perhaps even better known "Tua res agitur" from the "Epistles" of the same Horace.⁷ He obviously refrains from doing so because the adequacy would have been lower in this case.

Number three is certainly the most famous quote from the preface to "Capital". It comes at the very end, where Marx affirms that "the motto of the great Florentine still applies to him in the face of so-called public opinion: *Segui i/ tuo corso, e lascia dir le genti* !" (p. 15, line 3 f.) In German: Go your way, and let the people talk! This time we have a modified quote that differs from the wording of the original

to do. In Dante's "Divine Comedy", verse 13, the first in the fifth nth tercet, reads of the fifth canto in the "Purgatorio": "Vien' dietro a me, ♦ lascia dir Je genti." In German: Follow me, and let the people talk. The alteration seems to have been made arbitrarily; there is no discernible reason for its necessity.

The fact that a quotation from Dante was chosen to be placed at the end of such an important preface to such an important work probably has to do with the almost unqualified respect that Marx and Engels had for the great poet throughout their lives. Both of them had often (and of course in Italian

meters sounds like this : "Tantalus craves for the water that always escapes from his lips. What are you laughing at? Change the name, and it is you,/You whom the little tale means . . ." (*Horace's Satires*. Latin and German with explanations by Ludwig Döderlein. Leipzig 1860, p. 7). - The

'Explanations' in the MEGA correctly translate the meaning (p. 694): "About you is reported here!" The reference to the work "Saturae" is obviously a typographical error instead of "Satirae".

⁷ It is found in the 18th epistle to Lollius Maximus, verse 84f.; however, a different, not so much "adä quater" comparison is used here. The Latin text with Otto Schönberger's translation (op. cit., p. 200f.) reads :

Nam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet, et
neglecta solent incendia sumere vires.

("Your property is at stake when your neighbor's house is on fire, and usually an unattended fire spreads further and further.")

⁸ *La Commedia di Dante Alighieri*. Nel testo e nel commentato di Niccolò Tommaseo, vol. 2 (Purgatorio), Milano 1965, p. 27. MEGA, Zweite Abteilung, vol. 5, p. 697, only explains the Segui-il-tuo-corso variant : "Modified quotation from Dante Alighieri : La divina commedia. Canto V." This explanation is firstly imprecise (because it does not say from which of the three parts – Hell, Purgatory or Paradise – the "Canto V" referred to originates) and secondly superficial (because it neither states what has been altered nor, as in other cases, provides a German translation).

In their works and in their correspondence there is a vast number of quotations and paraphrases from Dante.⁹ Engels used to train his knowledge of Italian on the poet's language in particular. He also made the well-known assessment that Dante's "grandiose figure" was "both the last poet of the Middle Ages and the first poet of modern times".¹⁰

In the preface to "Capital", however, Marx repeats a gesture that he had already used in the (no less famous) preface to his "Critique of Political Economy" (1859). It ended like this : "But at the entrance into science, as at the entrance into hell, the demand must be made :

Qui si convien lasciare ogni sospetto,
Ogni viltà convien ehe qui sia morta."¹¹

So twice a Dante quote from the "Divine Comedy". The work itself is not mentioned in the citation. In the first case the author's name is simply omitted, in the second case it is not mentioned, but at least indirectly referred to with the help of a logical paraphrase or localizing antonomasia (paraphrase by explicitly emphasizing characteristics according to the pattern : "the Stagirite" – for Aristotle ; "the great Corsican" – for Napoleon: "the priest of Cleversulzbach" - for Mörike, etc.). Was perhaps the periphrastic Was the formulation ("the great Florentine" instead of "Dante") chosen because Marx wanted to tell his audience in an intelligent manner that he trusted them to find the concrete solution to the paraphrase without further ado? That would be quite conceivable.

II

However, anyone who would be prepared to make the rash assumption that these three obvious examples by the author of the foreword exhaust the sophisticated and variable art of quotation would be thoroughly mistaken. This is by no means the case. Since this art reaches further and deeper than has been visible so far, there is still much to be discovered, including one or two details that have so far been neglected. In order to prove this assertion, it is advisable to first insert a longer passage in the text, the second of the four mentioned above, in which Marx provides didactic guidance for his readers.

Towards the end it says (p. 14, lines 13 – 37) : "In the field of political In the field of economics, *free scientific research* encounters not only the same enemy as in all other fields. The peculiar nature of the subject which it treats calls against it the most violent, petty and spiteful passions of the human breast, the furies of private interest, to the battlefield. The English High Church, for example

⁹ On the intimate Dante connoisseurship of both, readable judgments in / . N. Goleniscev-Kutuzov, Tvorcestvo Dante i mirovaja kul'tura, Moskva 1971, pp. 250f., 396, 405–408 and 494–497.

¹⁰ MEW, Vol. 4, Berlin 1959, p. 590 (from the preface "To the Italian Reader" to the "Manifesto of the Communist Party", 1893).

¹¹ MEW, Vol. 13, Berlin 1961, p. 11 – There also, in the form of a footnote, the free, otherwise unannotated translation into German :

Here you must put to death all doubts,
Here no timidity is befitting.

forgives the attack on 38 of their 39 articles of faith rather than on 1/39 of their money income. Nowadays, atheism itself is a *culpa levis* compared to the criticism of traditional property relations. However, progress is unmistakable here. I refer, for example, to the Blue Book published in the last few weeks: *'Correspondence with Her Majesty's Missions Abroad, regarding Industrial Questions and Trade's Unions'*. The foreign representatives of the English Crown state here, in very few words, that in Germany, France, in short, in all the cultural states of the European continent, a transformation of the existing relations of capital and labor is just as perceptible and just as inevitable as in England. At the same time, on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, Mr. *Wade*, Vice-President of the United States of North America, declared in public meetings: "After the abolition of slavery, the transformation of capital and property relations will be the order of the day!" These are signs of the times, which cannot be hidden by purple cloaks or black frocks. They do not mean that miracles will happen tomorrow. They show how even in the ruling classes the inkling is dawning that the present society is not a solid crystallization, but an organism capable of transformation and constantly in the process of transformation."

So much for the context. It does not contain any quotations that would be identified as such by highlighting. On the other hand, it contains some terms, foreign words and titles for which explanations are required in a historical-critical edition. The editors of *Ban des 5* of the *Zeiten Abteilung der MEGA* also provide corresponding commentaries on pages 695 to 697.¹² They have neither explained nor commented on the following problem — for reasons that cannot be discussed here.

It is in the sentence (more precisely: in a sentence combination of main and relative clause) :

"These are signs of the times that cannot be hidden by purple cloaks or black frocks". Here Marx speaks twice using a cryptocitation.

The "signs of the times" go back to a New Testament text. In the Gospel of Matthew, chapter 16, verses 1 — 3 (in Luther's translation)¹³ is reported by Jesus: "Then the Pharisees and Sadducees came to him, tempting him and demanding to see a sign from heaven. But he answered and said, 'In the evening you say, 'It will be a fine day, for the sky is red. And in the morning you say, 'It will be a stormy day, for the sky is red and cloudy. You hypocrites, you can judge the appearance of the sky; can you not also judge the *signs of the times?*'"

The "purple cloaks" and the "black frocks", through which such signs of the times are hidden. The words "cannot be hidden" come from Nikolaus Lenau's epic poem "The Albigenses", whose "final song" ends like this (verses 3461-3476):

¹² They concern the 39 Articles of Faith of the English High Church, explain "*culpa levis*" under Roman law as "slight negligence", explain the character of the so-called Blue Books and document the aforementioned critical statements by John Franklin Wade (1800-1878) with a quotation from the "Appeal of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association to the Sections, Associated Societies and all Workers", originally published in the Geneva "Vorbote" of August 8, 1867, p. 115 f.

¹³ *Die Bibel oder die ganze Heilige Schrift des Alten und Neuen Testaments*, nach der deutschen Übersetzung Dr. Martin Luthers. Durchgesehen nach dem von der Deutschen evangelischen Kirchenkonferenz genehmigten Text, Neue Oktavausgabe, Dresden o. J., p. 22 (New Testament with separate pagination). Emphasis mine.

The song does not mean to divert the hatred
 of the dead from those who offend us today;
 But before the weaker, late-born children of the night
 spirit, the shy fear will diminish, if you compare the
 very stump figures of the despots with Innocent, the
 great dead,
 Who yet did not force mankind's heart to be still, And
 did not force the thought down.
 The light from heaven cannot be scattered, Nor can
 the sunrise *be obscured*
With purple cloaks or dark cowl ; The
 Albigenians are followed by the
 Hussites And pay back in blood what
 they suffered ;
 After Huss and Ziska come Luther, Hutten, The
 Thirty Years, the Cevennes Warriors,
 The Bastille Stormers, and so on.¹⁴

In my opinion, the fact *that* a deliberate quotation is being made here is beyond doubt and cannot be disputed. At most, the way *in which* the quotation has been *made* here requires the proleptic remark that the presence of minor inaccuracies ("signs of the times" instead of "signs of this time"; "not to be hidden" instead of "not to be hidden" ; "black frocks" instead of "dark frocks") could never be considered as a counterargument. In the first case, it is probably the (generally customary) adaptation of a biblical text. In everyday language use, in the second case it is probably a case of a not completely accurate memory, which does not damage the meaning at all by slightly changing the letter.

m

Why a quote from the Bible? Why a quotation from Lenau? Why both, pressed together in the smallest space, as a crypto-citation? The questions are easier asked than answered. We must limit ourselves here to a few hints.

Nikolaus Franz Niembsch Edler von Strehlenau (1802-1850), who adopted the pseudonym Lenau as a lyricist and epic poet by separating the first syllable of his aristocratic name, was obviously not one of Marx's favorite authors. As far as I can see to this day, he does not mention Lenau's name either in his works or in his letters. Not so Engels, who counted Lenau among the most important German-language pre-March authors even before 1840 and followed his development closely.¹⁵ For Engels, on the other hand

¹⁴ *Nikolaus Lenau, Complete Works and Letters*. Edited on the basis of the historical-critical edition by Eduard Castle with an afterword by Walter Dietze, Volume I, Leipzig 1970, p. 888 f. Emphasis mine.

¹⁵ Engels remarks that, in his opinion, "Lenau was already leaning towards Young Germany despite his ecclesiastical material" and asks: "What did we have before 1830? Theodor Hell and his ilk, Willibald Alexis, an old Goethe and an old Tieck, c'est tout. Then the July Revolution, since the War of Liberation the most beautiful expression of the will of the people, like a thunderclap. Goethe dies, Tieck degenerates

cannot be shown that he knew Lenau's "Albigensians" (first edition published by Cotta in Stuttgart in 1842, second edition in 1846). Marx knew them, and very well: otherwise he could not have quoted from them so aptly. Does the manner of not labeling the quotation as such this time imply a vote of confidence for the potential reader? Is Marx making this gesture to indicate that he expects his reader to be able to identify the secret quotation on the spot? That would again be quite conceivable.

The context is more important. Lenau had clearly outgrown himself in the "Albigensians". Here, he had become incomparably more precise and incomparably more progressive – especially in comparison to the preceding verse epics "Faust" (1836) and

"Savonarola" (1837), but also with regard to the poetry written up to that point, Lenau was able to grasp the real central problem of his epoch and shape it in the poetic exaggeration of a historical subject: as the apotheosis of a social emancipation movement that spanned many generations and was not spared partial defeats, but was victorious in perspective. Just half a century had passed when Lenau evoked the Parisian "Bastille Stormers" in this way, followed by the inimitable "and so on", which, given a new function as an empty phrase and emphatically emphasized as the literal "last word" of a grand epic context, expresses the very "process of transformation" of society to which Marx comes immediately afterwards and about which he says that it is a "process of transformation".

"inking" is "dawning" even in the ruling classes. *Hence* the access to this concealed Lenau quotation: it "fits" like no other in Marx's line of thought in the preface to "Capital".

Not to forget another, specifically aesthetic component. In German and Austrian literature around the middle of the last century, it is easy to trace how the topos of dusk (at sunset) and dawn (at sunrise) became an extraordinarily frequently used, politicized and poetically transposed characterization of crisis-ridden states of time, with the aspect of an imminent epochal turning point (the end of night and the beginning of morning) being used as the main tertium comparationis. This is not the place to list an almost immense amount of evidence for this metaphorical preference¹⁶; enough that names such as Schleiermacher and Hegel, Eichendorff and Immermann, Gutzkow and Ruge, Heine and Freiligrath, Raabe and Spielhagen could be mentioned – and many more amk1, 11., cl1. In one of the preparatory papers for his dissertation, the young Karl Marx had made use of a ver-

more and more, Hell falls asleep, Wolfgang Menzel continues to write cobbler reviews, but a new spirit is rising in literature; as poets above all Grün and Lenau. . ." (Engels to Friedrich Graeber from Bremen, April 8, 1839. MEW, Ergänzungsband, Zweiter Teil, Berlin 1967, p. 365). An article by Engels on Karl Beck dates from October of the same year and contains the remark that the Germans could be proud "of the philosophy from Kant to Hegel and of the series of songs from the Lud wigslied to Nikolaus Lenau", and the remark that one should appreciate "the vivid paintings of gypsy life in Lenau" (ibid., pp. 23 and 26).

¹⁶ I compiled some meaningful examples of this in 1957. Cf. the recent text in *Walter Dietze*, *Young Germany and German Classicism. Zur Ästhetik und Literaturtheorie des Vormärz*, Fourth edition, Berlin 1981, p. 135f.

¹⁷ Further examples passim in *Herman Meyer*, *Das Zitat in der Erzählkunst. Zur Geschichte und Poetik des europäischen Romans*, second, revised edition, Stuttgart 1967.

similar way to describe the epochs of stoic, skeptical and epicureanism.
natural philosophy in ancient Greek.¹⁸

Consequently, Lenau's sunrise metaphor apparently triggered a connotative recognition effect even after 1867: Marx apparently used it in reliance on this.

The question is left open as to whether he used the quotation from St. Matthew just for the sake of common usage or for the same "aesthetic" reason. Since the latter also speaks of weather phenomena, namely of red evening and morning skies (which here, however, are regarded as interpretable, in contrast to phenomena of social life), an *intended* correspondence could at least be assumed with a certain degree of probability. Prolepse, however, this time too: the objection that Marx may not have known the origin of the "sign-of-the-times" phrase very well should be avoided. The opposite would be just as easy. This remarkable author's "biblical firmness" has long deserved a thorough examination, although and because it is not directed at matters of faith at all, but rather at an incredibly solid and musically sensitive, linguistically trained education, which he knows how to apply with great aplomb.

To sum up: there are plausible and far-reaching reasons for the selection of this passage from the Bible and this passage from Lenau in Marx. The cryptocitation is anything but a coincidence, a whim of the moment or an ostentatious display of reading fruit. The meticulous and extremely precise political writer does not fail to pay attention to the homogeneity of the whole and the detail. He takes the most precise account of the connection between the particular and the general, between the concrete and the abstract. He ensures that the large is reflected in the small, and vice versa. Because his readers can expect a lot from him, he expects a lot from his readers. You can learn from him (among other things, of course) what it means to quote adequately.

¹⁸ Cf. his note on "*Knotenpunkte in der Entwicklung der Philosophie*" in *Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels, Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe, commissioned by the Marx-Engels-Institut Moskau, edited by D. Rjazanov, Section 1, Volume 1: Karl Marx, Werke und Schriften bis Anfang 1844, nebst Briefen und Dokumenten, Halbband 1: Werke und Schriften, Frankfurt a. M. 1927, p. 133.*

PETER H. FEIST

The visual arts in the second half of the 19th century and the "social question"

Many visual artists - like more and more people in general - were also moved by the "social question" in the second half of the 19th century at the latest. The vague term was chosen deliberately. In the "Marginal Glosses to the Program of the German Workers' Party", known as the "Critique of the Gotha Program" and published as late as 1891, Karl Marx attacked Lasalle's position in the program with the sharpness that characterized him: "The existing class struggle is replaced by a newspaper phrase : 'the social *question*', the '*solution*' of which is 'in the offing'." The program is thus not oriented towards the necessary "revolutionary process of transformation of society".¹ But it is precisely this newspaper phrase that we need here - for two reasons. Firstly, it allows us to draw the boundaries of the field of investigation further than the concept of revolutionary transformation would allow, and we will have to show why this is necessary.

Secondly, it can be assumed that the awareness of social relations² that existed among artists and the vast majority of their partners in the network of social art relations - viewers, buyers, patrons, critics, etc. - was shaped far more by reading newspapers and other popular opinions, by spontaneous observations, experiences and feelings that resulted in an everyday consciousness. - was shaped far more by reading newspapers and other popular opinions, by spontaneous observations, experiences and feelings that resulted in an everyday consciousness, than by stringent theoretical scientific analysis and a clear political program.

The "social question" was the emergence and intensification of such, predominantly historically new contradictions in social relations that arose from the full development of the antagonistic relationship between capital and labor, which was based on the development of the productive forces towards the dominance of large-scale industry. The social question appeared above all as a multiplicity of changes in the mode of work, the forms of exploitation and the livery industry as a whole, as the growth of the new class of the proletariat, as an increase in impoverishment and as the organization and struggle of the workers' movement to improve the situation of the working masses.

Relationships between the visual arts and these processes could include various things: Direct and indirect changes in the objects of artistic reflection, in the extent to which reality was considered worthy of art and therefore artistically appropriate; changes in social position and role, in professional self-image, and in the way people perceived themselves.

¹ Karl Marx, *Friedrich Engels, Werke*, vol. 19, Berlin 1962, p. 26.

² *Marxist-Leninist Philosophy*, Berlin 1979, p. 633.

The following changes will be examined here: changes in the artists' understanding of art and, associated with this, in the recipients of their artistic production; changes in the understanding of the function and the actual social functioning of art; changes in the evaluations made by means of art, the strategies of impact of the artworks and the design methods developed for this purpose. The changes mentioned in the first place will be examined here, although these cannot be clearly separated from the others.

Determining direct representations of (new) reality is - with regard to the task of iconography or iconology and the study of motifs - a method of art history. The social question was mainly reflected in a series of themes and motifs: depictions of work processes and workplaces, especially in industry, and of members of the working class in general; exploitation; unemployment and other manifestations of poverty and misery; the struggle of workers to assert their rights and claims in the form of strikes and political activity; designs for a better life in the future. To this end, there were art historical, iconographic traditions to which reference was made, which were to be adapted and which, due to their formative power, could sometimes also be an obstacle to finding new solutions.

A prerequisite for the visual arts to respond directly to the social question consisted in the greater importance that the reflection of contemporary, visually perceived reality in general gained in the course of the 19th century. In this process of developing a type of realism characteristic of the 19th century, which was characterized by fierce aesthetic and artistic struggles for direction, genre painting (the "moral picture") flourished in particular. It fulfilled and promoted the need for illustrative, informative, educational, agitational as well as simply narrative, cozy, possibly also exciting or amusing, i.e. "entertaining" depictions. After the pictures of the "folk life" of farmers, shepherds and fishermen, craftsmen, but also out-laws such as poachers and robbers and the ethnographic discovery of oriental peoples in particular, the proletarians now also came into focus.

The appreciation of such art had to be fought for against views according to which art had to form an imagined "higher" reality or super-reality and adhere to "ideal" material, possibly from a correspondingly understood history. Formally, according to these views, art was not bound to the phenomena of reality, but to aesthetically and art-historically predetermined norms of high style and ideal beauty. Realism disputed this with its new demand for undisguised truth.

It is worth recalling another general prerequisite for the specific problem within the relationship between art and society that concerns us here: in socio-economic terms, visual artists existed essentially as small producers of goods on the art market. In order to make a living from their art production, they had to relate the subject matter and design of their works to the recognized or foreseeable expectations and needs of presumptive buyers. Whoever, for whatever reason, took the risk of producing unsaleable pictures had to be able to make a living from something else. Moreover, the communicative character of art, the desire to reach an addressee with one's own message, is a stronger part of the artists' creative motivation than is sometimes admitted. In any case, it is clear that pure self-expression and a production without the chance of any publicity is not the only way to achieve this.

were rarer than the theory of "l'art pour l'art", which emerged in the 19th century, would suggest.

By taking up a relevant topic, an artist was already making a decision to consider the issue in question important and worthy of art and not to overlook, ignore or suppress it. The latter were, however, quite common behaviors and (cultural) political and aesthetic strategies. Social counter-models to the developed capitalist relations of production, to proletarian existence, were disseminated as ideal images of harmonious life: patriarchal "Small people's happiness" and the glorified naturalness of rural life.

Thematic reference to the social question therefore remained limited to a small part of art production, although its scope grew over the course of the decades. It must be remembered that pictures of this kind were only of limited use as embellishments for the bourgeois home and as a "feast for the eyes", for which the majority of artworks were produced and purchased at the time. Understandably, public monumental art was also very hesitant to take up this theme, and if it did, then at best to attribute social legislation, depicted as charity, to the ruler as his merit, as was the case with Johannes Schilling's monument to Wilhelm I on Hamburg's Rathausplatz (Town Hall Square, 1899-1903).

Those who, as the victims of the contradictions, were most urgently interested in changing the situation, were only considered to a limited extent as recipients – as exhibition or museum visitors – and not at all as buyers, as material carriers of an art that stood up for their interests. Illustrated graphics in magazines and books formed a certain exception in this respect. Only bourgeois buyers with a social conscience and private art collectors or museums who were prepared to value works with themes relating to social issues as artistic testimonies to a current trend could offer a painter the prospect of being able to buy such a picture.

However, the subject matter alone is not enough to answer the question we are interested in regarding the socio-political evaluation of the depicted, the artist's partisanship. This is often difficult to determine with any degree of accuracy. This is because it was often undecided, blurred or ambivalent, possibly even deliberately concealed. For the contemporary viewer, different interpretations of a picture were possible.

Works in which the revolutionary concept of changing social conditions was openly advocated, the revolutionary positive of struggle was honored and new struggles were agitated for were rare. This corresponded to the level of consciousness of most artists or allows conclusions to be drawn about it and also corresponded to the limited opportunities to reach the public with such works. An account of the Paris Commune by Franz Defregger, a surprising thematic exception in the oeuvre of this peasant painter, concentrated with compassion on the suffering of women, children and the wounded in a cellar defended by communards, but remained as unfinished, unpublicized a sketch as Adolph Menzel's painting on the revolution of 1848 two decades earlier

"Laying out the March dead". The appearance of such depictions, the increase in depictions of strikes towards the end of the century, for example, since the 1880s, reflected the general development and charisma of the workers' movement. However, such a reflex also included depictions that sought to spread disgust and fear of the revolution. Two views were the most widespread: one type of depiction, which was to sympathize with the revolution.

The first was intended to arouse a feeling for the difficult fate of hard workers, the poor, the wretched, etc., in order to stimulate more or less (Christian) charity or reforms of social behavior, and the second was more or less factually ascertaining, "positivist" way of depicting conditions. The boundary between the latter and an evidently "critical realism" or an open agitation to overthrow conditions remained peculiarly blurred. Gustave Courbet, whose paintings played a key role throughout Europe and America in the development of a realistic approach to the new social problems, is said to have asked the Comte d'Ideville whether he had painted the famous "Stone Knockers" (1849, ehem. Dresden, Gemäldegalerie, Kriegsverlust) was intended to trigger a social protest, while the painting rather evokes pity, he is said to have replied: "This pity resulted from an injustice, and thus, without intending to (!), but simply by painting what I saw (!), I have addressed what is called the social question."³

This reticence with regard to open protest was characteristic; the reasons for it were different and were not revealed. A lack of insight into the actual social conditions, the absence of a revolutionary conviction, the shying away from the revolution and its consequences were among them. The realistic and naturalistic artistic method of the 19th century of depicting reality "as it is" in all its manifestations gave artists the opportunity to retreat to the position that the mirror should not be criticized for what it shows. And the prevailing public opinion made it seem advisable for an artist who wanted to remain on the art scene and make a living from his art not to declare himself a subversive.

Conservative and reactionary views of art used to openly add political accents to the aesthetic discussion. The intrusion of realism, which reproduced contemporary reality as the artist saw it, into an art world of the "ideals" and formal standardization through masterpieces of the past was – quite rightly! – into a closer connection with the social, political and ideological movements of democracy and socialism than many of the realists and their supporters themselves did. In 1884, the influential art critic Friedrich Pecht, who fluctuated somewhat in his positions and was essentially a conservative nationalist, wrote a key sentence for this view, which had undoubtedly been widespread for some time: "The fact that this unkempt plebeianism in art (namely "to become slippery and mean in the forms, indeed to seek the beautiful in the ugly", as Pecht had previously said, P. H. F.) has gained such a wide place in our country is much more closely connected with political developments, especially with the emergence of democracy - indeed of socialism - than the proponents of this latest trend themselves somehow realized (!)."⁴ This was primarily aimed at style and design, but with "plebeian" subject matter it became even more explosive. Thus it became an art-critical topos of the proponents of paintings with "social" themes that they lacked "all intentionality", as Max Jordan, the director of the Berlin

³ *Courbet raconte par lui-même et par ses amis*, ed. Pierre Courthion, Geneva 1948–50, vol. 1, p. 214 ; quoted from Michael Nungesser: "And even the social question enters the wide-open gates of art" – The "Stone Knocker" in the Mirror of Criticism, in : *Realism as Contradiction: Reality in Courbet's Painting*, ed. by Klaus Herding, Frankfurt am Main 1978, pp. 177–193.

⁴ *Friedrich Pecht*, edited by Franz von Reber: *Geschichte der Neueren deutschen Kunst*, vol. 3, Leipzig 1884, 2nd edition, p. 286.

Nationalgalerie, wrote to the minister in 1875 about Adolph Menzel's "Iron Rolling Mill" in order to obtain approval for the purchase of the painting.⁵ Christian Ludwig Bokelmann's painting "Streik in der Tischlerwerkstatt" (1888), which was exhibited several times, was "without the hypocritical pathos of Social Democratic tendency painting", wrote the equally widely read art critic Adolf Rosenberg.⁶ Today it is difficult to identify examples of German painting from this period to which Rosenberg's spiteful characterization, which suggests the existence of an entire trend, could apply. Most of it was similarly "tame" as Bokelmann's painting. Käthe Kollwitz had not yet emerged with her prints. A certain exception was Robert Koehler's "Strike" (1886, owned by Lee Baxandall, USA), painted in Munich, but inspired by events in the USA and remained almost exclusively in that country. In his "Aesthetics of Resistance", Peter Weiss has once again drawn attention to this great painting.⁷ Talking about painterly quality but denying social tendencies became a kind of strategy to assert realistic art among the bourgeois public and buyers. It undoubtedly had an effect on the artists' self-image and the "impact strategies" of their works⁸ and, as we have seen, even Courbet encouraged this with the interpretation of his method.

Under these conditions, which were given by the social conditions of art for artistic creation, every recognizable response by visual artists to the "social question" appears to be worthy of attention. Depictions that – possibly with a tendency at the time to a merely lurid choice of hitherto unexplored pictorial material or to shocking banality – registered a piece of social contradiction, turned the hardships of the poor into a touching piece or treated them with liberal or Christian humanity, are to be regarded as an ideologically blurred

"poor people's art" has generally not been considered in detail by Marxist art studies when dealing with the prehistory and early history of socialist art associated with the workers' movement.⁹ Their generally not very high artistic quality contributed to this. However, as testimonies to the breadth and diversity in which an artistic awareness of the force and urgency of the "social question" emerged, they deserve more serious attention. In almost every case, their very existence at least articulated a contradiction to the concept of art – albeit in retreat, but still powerful and widespread – that Wilhelm II also supported in

⁵ *Françoise Forster-Hahn*, Adolph Menzel's "Iron Rolling Mill": Kunst im Konflikt zwischen Tradition und sozialer Wirklichkeit, in: *Die Nützlichen Künste, Gestaltende Technik und Bildende Kunst seit der Industriellen Revolution*, ed. by Tilmann Buddensieg and Henning Rogge, Berlin(West) 1981, pp. 122–129, quote p. 123.

⁶ *Adolf Rosenberg*, Christian Ludwig Bokelmann, in: *Zs. f. bild. Kunst*, NF 1 (1890) pp. 3–7, w. ill.

⁷ *Peter Weiss*, *Die Ästhetik des Widerstands*, novel, Berlin 1983, vol. 1, p. 356 1T. – Cf. with a somewhat different assessment *Peter H. Feist*, *Die Bedeutung der Arbeiterklasse für den Realismus der Käthe Kollwitz*, in: *Ders., Künstler, Kunstwerk und Gesellschaft*, Dresden 1978, p. 208, ill. 26, first published in *Wiss. Zeitschr. d. Humboldt-Univ. Berlin, Gesellsch.- u. sprachwiss. R.* 17 (1968).

⁸ The term is based on the important art-theoretical findings of *Dieter Schlenstedt* (*Wirkungsästhetische Analysen: Poetologie und Prosa in der neueren DDR-Literatur*, Berlin 1979).

⁹ The sketch by *Günter Meißner*, *Soziale Tendenzen in der bildenden Kunst des 19. und beginnenden 20. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Deutsche Kunst 19./20. Jahrhundert*. Exhibition catalog, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Altes Museum – National-Galerie 1966, pp. 77–96.

authoritatively proclaimed in his speech on December 18, 1901 on the completion of Berlin's Victory Avenue: "If art, as is often the case now, does nothing more than make the misery even more hideous than it already is, then it is sinning against the German people." For culture must, among other things, "urgently rise up to the lowest strata of the people", "instead of descending into the gutter".¹⁰ The "gutter art", as it was subsequently called, and the various representations of work also produced a visual-linguistic material through their motivic discoveries, pictorial structures and creative topoi, which could continue to have an effect in the later development of socialist realist art far beyond the immediate ideological intentions of the authors. This is the case, for example, with Menzel's "Iron Rolling Mill" and Max Liebermann's depictions from the 1870s and 1880s of work processes that are carried out uniformly by many, i.e. in an industrial manner.¹¹ It is well-founded in the nature of artistic appropriation of reality that these and other works were interpreted differently, even contrary, both in their time and during the century that has passed since then, and that they continue to provide us and those who follow with new productive "readings".

For the art historian, the diversity of artistic reflections on the "social question" in the 19th century provides a theoretically and methodologically important example of the ways in which art can relate to social reality in its historical movement and how the development of art, mediated by the conditional structure of art relations, is influenced by social forces in their processually changing relationship to one another. For the historian, works of visual art, correctly interpreted in their reflective capacity, can provide additional information about apparent facts of socio-historical events - interpretations of what the everyday life of the German people was like. First and foremost, however, in their capacity as a specific interpretation of social reality, they must become a source that provides information about the nature and spread of awareness of social conditions, especially at the level of everyday consciousness, which is so essential for socio-cultural processes. Hence the use of the "newspaper writer's phrase" of the "social question" and its solution. Due to the sensitivity for life processes, for the spiritual climate, for "what is in the air", which characterizes this kind of appropriation of the world, artistic creation can provide extremely valuable symptoms of social conditions, power relations and movements. In order for the overall process of history to be recognized ever more precisely, they require, in my opinion, even more than is usual, joint analysis by historians and art historians.

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¹⁰ Cf. most recently in *Kunsttheorie und Kunstgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland*, Texte und Dokumente, ed. by Wolfgang Beyrodt, Ulrich Bischoff, Werner Busch and Harold Hammer-Schenk, vol. 3: Skulptur und Plastik, ed. by Ulrich Bischoff, Stuttgart 1985 (Reclam -Universal-Bibliothek 8043 [4]), p. 252.

¹¹ Peter H. Feist, Adolph Menzel and Realism, in: Adolph Menzel, Paintings, Drawings, Staat! Museen zu Berlin Hauptstadt der DDR, Nationalgalerie, exhibition 1980, p. 17-25; ders. Max Liebermann's Decisions, in: For Max Liebermann, 1847-1935. A black and white exhibition of the Academy of Arts of the GDR and the Kupferstichkabinett of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Hauptstadt der DDR, Nationalgalerie 1985, pp. 9-14.

¹² The author has taken up some questions again here, which he dealt with under a different aspect during a conference in 1983: *Die "soziale Frage" in der bildenden Kunst und die Herausbildung sozialistischer Kunst*, in: Studies on Socialist Art and Art Theory (1830 - 1917), Wissenschaft! Zeitschr. der Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, Gesellschaftsw. R. 34 (1985) H. 1/2, P. 21-26.

To what extent was the German farmer manipulated? Some objective prerequisites for possible or impossible alliance policy before the First World War

The development of agriculture and rural producers in the **GDR** also bears witness to the contribution farmers make to social progress.

- also on German soil, also in the 20th century, also in political terms. The phenomenon that large sections of the peasant population in imperialist Germany in the first half of the 20th century were supporters of conservative and reactionary politics must be viewed from this perspective. This perspective also makes it possible, for example, to characterize Gollwitzer's assertion that Marxism always vilified and fought against the ^{peasants}¹ as plain nonsense without further comment.

Looking at the situation and aspirations of farmers and workers at the turn of the century with today's historical experience, one is tempted to raise some questions.

Was it really solely due to demagoguery and manipulation by the rulers when, according to Lenin's drastic formulation in his analysis of the Reichstag elections of 1912, "the German village, the German peasantry . . . is still almost *without exception* in spiritual and political bondage to the landowners and clergy"?²

Were there really already sufficient conditions around 1900 for an effective and successful alliance policy between social democracy and the farmers?

A "no" to both questions is initially put forward as a hypothesis. This is followed by material and considerations to substantiate this hypothesis(es).

As German Social Democracy discussed the problems of an agricultural program and Engels wrote his opinion on the subject, a long-standing world agricultural crisis was approaching its nadir.

The price curves for grain had been zig-zagging since the early 1870s. movement showed a clear downward trend. The price drop from the last peak in 1891 to the low in 1894 was particularly drastic as part of this downward trend: Rye fell from 211.2 to 117.8, wheat from 224.2 to 136.1 marks/tonne.³ The price of rye thus reached its lowest point.

¹ *Europäische Bauernparteien im 20. Jh.*, ed. by Heinz Gollwitzer, Stuttgart/New York 1977, p. 2 (= Quellen und Forschungen zur Agrargeschichte, vol. 29).

² *W. I. Lenin*, Die neuesten Angaben über die Parteien in Deutschland, in : Werke, vol. 19, Berlin 1965, p. 259.

³ *Alfred Jacobs/Hans Richter*, Die Großhandelspreise in Deutschland von 1792 bis 1934, in : Vierteljahresshefte zur Konjunkturforschung, Sonderheft 37, Berlin 1935, p. 52f. (Berlin stock exchange prices) and chart, p. 90.

low since 1864, with similar lows for wheat even further back. Although the producer prices for meat did not follow this downward trend, but rather hovered around the same level since the early 1970s, the situation for other animal products, such as butter, lard, tallow, hides and skins, was very similar to that for grain.⁴ The financial losses in income therefore did not only affect those farms whose main market product was grain, i.e. roughly speaking: the estates in the East. Many farmers got into difficulties.

There was an additional factor: 1892 was a year of a foot-and-mouth epidemic, the extent of which was only surpassed in 1899 and 1911 until the First World War. In 1892, around 105,000 farms were affected, with around 1.5 million cattle, over 2 million sheep and almost half a million pigs.⁵

While in 1886/87 more agricultural and forestry properties were auctioned in Prussia than in any subsequent year up to 1931 (not even in terms of area), after a slight decline there was another peak in 1892/93, which almost equaled that of 1886/87. Thereafter, both the number and the total area of the compulsorily increased properties decreased, slowly at first, then rapidly during the World War, and even more rapidly during the years of inflation, only to increase rapidly again afterwards;⁶

However, what German farmers experienced in these years was not a special German problem. On the world market, it was not only the prices for bread grain that went through this 30-20 year fall, but also those for many products from overseas agriculture:

Rice, tea, palm oil, cotton, wool.⁷

It was a global agricultural crisis, a component of what is today "Great Depression", a long downturn that turned into an upswing around 1895.

But was the upward trend in the world economy, which then continued for about 20 years over several crisis cycles, foreseeable at the low point in 1894? Hardly, it has to be said; or rather: impossible!

In the years 1892, 1893, 1894, years of sharp price falls to the low point and high auction figures, the following transactions and events took place, among others:

- the founding of the Federation of Farmers (BdL) led by large farmers and the Bavarian Farmers' Association in 1893 and 1895,
- Fierce controversy within the Social Democrats over land agitation and the agricultural program, especially at the Frankfurt party conference in October 1894.
- Elaboration of Friedrich Engels' article "The Peasant Question in France and Germany" in November 1894.

In this article, Engels describes very succinctly how threatening the farmers must have felt the situation to be: "Competition from North and South America and India has flooded the European market with cheap grain, so cheap that no domestic producer can compete with it. Large landowners and small farmers both see

⁴ Ibid., pp. 91- 100.

⁵ *Statistical Yearbook for the German Reich*, Vol. 1899, p. 210ff.; Vol. 1919, p. 353ff.

⁶ *Gerhard Kokotkiewicz*, *Der Immobiliarkredit. Its Situation and Prospects*, Berlin 1932, p. 13 (= Vierteljahresshefte zur Konjunkturforschung, Sonderheft 30 [Second, expanded and revised edition of Sonderheft 261]).

⁷ *Jacobs/Richter*, *Wholesale Prices*, pp. 91- 100.

They are both landowners and landlords. And since they are both landowners and landlords, the large landowner sets himself up as the champion of the interests of the small farmer, and the small farmer - on the whole and on a large scale - accepts this champion."⁸

When Engels now gives the following important indications, which only became the basis for the successful alliance policy of the Marxist-Leninist workers' parties in the 20th century, he had, among other things, the following in mind at the time:

1. "The conquest of political power by the socialist party is within reach," he writes shortly after the above quotation and continues: "But in order to conquer political power, this party must first move from the city to the countryside, must become a power in the country. It, which is ahead of all other parties in its clear insight into the connection between the economic causes and the political consequences, and which has therefore long since spied the wolf under the sheep's clothing of the big landlord's intrusive peasant friend – may it leave the doomed peasant in the hands of his false protectors until he is transformed from a passive into an active opponent of the industrial workers? And that brings us to the heart of the peasant question."⁹
2. he was aware of the destructive effect of the long agricultural crisis, which made the mass displacement of small and medium-sized farms likely in the near future. He therefore wrote : ^{gg}"It is the duty of our party to make clear to the peasants again and again the absolute hopelessness of their situation as long as capitalism prevails, the absolute impossibility of preserving their parcel property as such, the absolute certainty that large-scale capitalist production will pass over their powerless, outdated small farm like a railroad train over a wheelbarrow. If we do this, we are acting in the spirit of the inevitable economic development, and this will open the minds of the small farmers to our words."⁰

Nobody could have foreseen at the time that this correct prognosis of economic development would only become established as a stormy process in many capitalist countries 50-60 years later.

With regard to capitalist Germany, too, we have the explainable but nevertheless astonishing fact that agricultural ownership structures did not change dramatically on the whole between the mid-1890s and the end of the 1930s (see Table Appendix 1). Decisive structural shifts towards larger farms in the sense of the "unavoidable economic development" mentioned by Engels only took place in the decades after  World War in the FRG.

Engels' hope that this unavoidable economic development would "open the minds of small farmers to our words" *could* therefore only be fulfilled to a modest extent *at the time*, even if his words – i.e. the concept of the production cooperative – had been used correctly by German Social Democracy.

In view of the dramatic effects of the agricultural crisis, Engels also saw no longer a long-term future for the farms of medium-sized and large farmers: "Do these farmers want the guaran-

⁸ Friedrich Engels, *The Peasant Question in France and Germany*, in : MEW, vol. 22, Berlin 1977, p. 486.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid, p. 502.

If they want their business to continue, we absolutely cannot offer them that. Their place is then with the anti-Semites, farmers' allies and similar parties, who take pleasure in promising everything and delivering nothing. We have the economic certainty that even the large and medium-sized farmer must infallibly succumb to the competition of the capitalist enterprise and the cheap overseas grain production, as the growing indebtedness and the everywhere visible decline of these farmers also proves. We can do nothing against this decay but recommend the amalgamation of the estates into cooperative farms, in which the exploitation of wage labor can be more and more eliminated and the gradual transformation into branches of the great national production cooperative with equal rights and obligations can be initiated. If these peasants realize the inevitability of the downfall of their present mode of production and draw the necessary conclusions from it, they will come to us, and it will be our duty to do our utmost to facilitate their transition to the changed mode of production. Otherwise, we must leave them to their fate and turn to their wage laborers, with whom we will find favor. Here, too, we will probably refrain from forcible expropriation and, moreover, we can count on the fact that economic development will also make these tougher skulls accessible to reason." ¹¹

History has proven "the inevitability of the downfall of its current mode of production", but at that time, the downfall had not yet gone from possibility to reality. In those years before 1894, however, the possibility hung over people's heads like the sword of Damocles.

No wonder, then, that quite a few farmers, including small and medium-sized farmers, accepted the large landowners in the leadership of the Farmers' Union as their "champions", as Engels put it. The membership of the BdL grew steadily, from 16,000 in 1893, the year it was founded, to 33,000,000 in 1914; by the end of the 1990s, more than half of its members came from areas west of the Elbe.¹² At this point, it is perhaps appropriate to provide an overview of the numbers of farmers with holdings of 2 ha or more in the two censuses of 1895 and 1,907 (Table 1):

The large landowners themselves were, of course, a numerically thin layer. The BdL's Massenanhang could only be made up of farmers from other farm size groups. Fricke wrote the following about the structure of the membership: "According to the information provided by the board in various annual reports, the proportion of members who paid over 20 M in annual dues, i.e. who owned more than 200 ha of land according to the statutes, was 2% in the first years of the BdL and has averaged 0.5% since the turn of the century (1902: 1,500, 1913: 1,733). To the

"Medium-sized" landowners accounted for an average of 12 to 14% of all members, while the "small landowners" made up the bulk of the membership, around 85 to 89%."¹³

¹¹ Ibid., p. 503.

¹² *Encyclopedia on the history of political parties*. The bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties and associations in Germany

land (1789– 1945). In four volumes, edited by Dieter Fricke (head of the editorial collective), Werner Fritsch [et al.], vol. 1, Leipzig 1983, p. 242.

¹³ Dieter Fricke, "Bund der Landwirte", in: Die bürgerlichen Parteien in Deutschland. Handbuch der bürgerlichen Parteien und anderer bürgerlichen Interessenorganisationen vom Vormärz bis zum Jahre 1945, Vol. I, Leipzig 1968, p. 133.

Table 1

Number of farmers with agricultural holdings of 2 ha or more in the German Reich in 1895 and 1907

Size class in ha (LNF)	1895		In Percent	1907		In Percent
	Operating owner total	of which main professional i. d. Land-econ.		Operating owner total	Of which principal professional i. d. Land-economic.	
1 00 and more	25 061	23 611	94,5	23 566	22871	97,1
20- 100	281 767	271 079	96,	5262 191	254 1 04	96,9
4- 20	998 804	908 852	91,0	1 065 539	981 509	92,1
2- 5	1 016 318	759 025	74,6	1 006 277	734 868	73,0

Source: *German agriculture. Hauptergebnisse der Reichsstatistik*, edited by the Imperial Statistical Office, Berlin 1913, p. 34 f.

Table 2

Shares of individual company size classes in the German Reich 1907

Size-Es great in ha (LNF)	managed		There were	
	Percent of total agri.	Percent of grain cultivation area	Percent of total Cattle stock	Percent of total pig area stock
	1	2	3	4
2- 5	9,8	9,5	15,7	16,5
5- 20	32,6	33,6	39,3	33,5
20- 100	29,6	30,6	26,5	19,3
1 00 and more	24,6	22,8	11,9	7,3

Source : Column 1 : Calculated according to *Die deutsche Landwirtschaft*, p. 118.

Column 2 : Calculated according to *ibid.* p. 119.

Columns 3 and 4: Calculated according to *ibid.* p. 198 f.

Table 2 provides an indication of the economic potential of the individual farm size classes. For example, the high production shares of the approximately one million medium-sized farmers (5-20 ha) are clearly visible here. Of course, these are average figures for the German Reich. However, one should not assume that in East Elbe

there would have been only or mainly large estates and small farms. Only the two Mecklenburg districts and the Prussian administrative district of Stralsund were actually characterized to the greatest extent in this direction. In the other eastern Prussian administrative districts, the proportion of usable land belonging to the large and medium-sized farming sector outweighed that of large estates. For Prussia as a whole, the proportion of usable land owned by large landowners amounted to 28.1 percent.

Let us summarize the contents of Table 2 more briefly: The approximately 1.3 million medium-sized and large farmers with holdings of 5-under 100 ha

were farming in 1907 and	62.2/ of the LNF
owned	64.2 % of the area under cereals
	65.8 % of the cattle herd
	52.8 % of the pig population in the German Reich.

The majority of agricultural production in Germany was therefore generated on these farms. These farms also acted as sellers on the market, not only of animal products but also of grain. The interest in selling inevitably linked the landowners in this group with that of the large landowners. The crucial point is that the selling interests of the middle and large farmers and the Junkers differed only in degree, but not in principle. The former were more interested than the Junkers in high prices for animal products, but both were interested in high grain prices.

Wiedenfeld used the 1907 farm census to calculate the bread and fodder grain acreage of the individual size classes as well as the harvest results and the per capita consumption of farming families, servants and livestock. He came to the conclusion : „ Erst the medium-sized farm (5-20 ha) is a regular cereal producer. seller . . . " Accounting analyses of the 1920s showed that the companies of 5 to 20 ha sold 32 percent of their grain yield, those from 20 to 100 ha 46 percent and those over 100 ha 54 percent.¹⁵

Of course, small farmers with less than 5 ha did not usually sell grain, and many of them used to buy additional feed grain for animal production. Insofar as they sold animal products, they had to be interested in high prices, but in low grain prices. With regard to the latter, there was therefore a conflict of market interests between, the small owners on the one hand and the middle and large farmers and Junkers on the other. If one imagines a development in which grain prices rise and the prices for animal products remain the same or fall, the group of small landowners would suffer greatly and the conflict of market interests could lead to open conflict. However, in the period after the turnaround from 1895 to 1914, prices for animal products rose more sharply than grain prices (Table 3).

Under these conditions, feed buyers among agricultural producers were also able to increase their income, and the theoretically possible conflict of interest did not materialize.

Once again it should be emphasized: Who could have foreseen this development in 1894 or around 1900, when the battles over the new customs tariff were taking place?

¹⁴ K. Wiedenfeld, Getreidezölle, in : Wörterbuch der Volkswirtschaft in zwei Bänden, ed. by Ludwig Elster, 3rd completely revised edition, vol. 1, Jena 1914, p. 1059.

¹⁵ H. L. Fensch/L. Herholz, Die Verwendung der deutschen Getreideernte, Berlin 1930, p. 60 (= Deutscher Landwirtschaftsrat. Veröffentlichungen, H. 18).

Table 3

Indices of producer prices for agricultural products in Germany (1895/99 = 100)

Year	Plant-based products	Meat	Other animal products	Agricultural products in total
1880/84	115	94	103	106
1895/99	100	100	100	100
1910/13	131	136	143	136

Source: Calculated according to *Hoffmann, W. G., Das Wachstum der deutschen Wirtschaft seit der Mitte des 19. Jh., Berlin/Heidelberg/New York 1965, p. 561 f.*

When opponents of grain tariffs emphasized their certain future damage to small farmers, no such increase in the price of animal products could be seen. And it looks as if many of the smaller farmers will have to deal with such damage.

They didn't count on it either, because the tariffs for animal products were also rec high.

But - and this is the amazing thing - they also campaigned for grain tariffs.

A list of the petitions received by the Reichstag by January 7, 1902 "concerning the draft customs tariff law" is revealing.¹⁷ From these 50 closely printed pages, the known fronts in some fundamental positions can be seen at first glance.

"For a substantial reduction in food tariffs" is the petition of the German Trade Convention in Berlin. Against an increase in tariffs on grain, foodstuffs and raw products and in favor of continuing the existing trade agreement policy", the executive committee of the Social Democratic parliamentary group in the Reichstag in Berlin submitted 83,756 petitions with 3,431,784 signatures. Around 2450 further such petitions came from clubs, associations and public assemblies. In addition to liberal electoral associations, many

- join : Many chambers of commerce, municipal bodies of cities, craftsmen's guilds, several women's associations, the Association for Trade Commissioners of 1858, the Association of Berlin Master Tailors for Ladies' Clothing in Berlin, the Plauensche Grund Trade Association in Deuben, the Association of Retailers in Hanau, the Technicians' Association in Hanover, the Association of German Brush and Paintbrush Manufacturers in Nuremberg, Protestant Workers' Associations, the Catholic Men's Association in Tutzingen, the Association of Local Health Insurance Funds in Thuringia, the "Central Board of the Association of German Trade Associations (Hirsch-Duncker) in Berlin" with 1,00,426 signatures. This small selection may once again illustrate the breadth of the front against the increase in agricultural tariffs. But: It

¹⁶ On tariffs for animal products, see *Dieter Baudis/Helga Nussbaum, Wirtschaft und Staat in Deutschland vom Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts bis 1918/19, Berlh 1978, p. 244 f.* - In this volume, some of the facts on agriculture and its structure that are only briefly alluded to in this article are detailed. (pp. 177-248 and appendix tables).

¹⁷ *Reichstag Reports*, vol. 193, printed matter no. 426: First list of petitions received by the Reichstag concerning the draft Customs Tariff Act (completed on January 7, 1902), pp. 2,742 to 2799.

was predominantly an urban front. City names also predominate in the petitions from "Public People's Assemblies". In the group of petitions from "Inhabitants in . . ." (not included in the figures given above), almost half come from cities and industrial towns in Saxony.

The only exception we find in this petition is "Against increasing tariffs on beverages, food, raw products . . ." a small group of 30 petitions from farmers. They were submitted by 3 board members of the "Nord Ost" farmers' association, which was founded in 1896 and was affiliated with the *Freisinnige Vereinigung*, on behalf of "meetings of farmers organized in 31 places".¹⁸ This case is interesting. The towns were all located in *Hinterpommern*, which comprised the administrative districts of Stettin and Köslin. After the administrative district of Stralsund, these two administrative districts had the highest proportion of large landholdings in Prussia (73.4 percent): 46.5 and 47.9 percent respectively. In the administrative district of Köslin, farms with 20-100 hectares of arable land had a share of only 20.9 percent, while smaller farms had 31.2 percent. The Free Union had its strongest positions in the coastal towns and had obviously found a farming "hinterland" in the Junkerland of *Hinterpommern*.

Should this exception perhaps not be regarded as such? Did the peasants in other parts of the empire perhaps have no possibility of articulation?

However, if you look at the petitioners who were against the increase in agricultural tariffs and their tariff proposals, several things stand out:

1. Numerous farmers' associations and local assemblies from parts of the empire where medium or even small estates predominated spoke out in favor of increasing agricultural tariffs.
2. Among these farmers' petitioners were some who demanded higher grain tariffs than the Farmers' Union.
3. The farmers' association, on the other hand, which had submitted proposals for all of the more than 200 agricultural and forestry items in the new customs tariff, including animal products and, for example, horticultural and viticultural products, demanded higher tariffs for some of these items than farmers', gardeners' or winegrowers' associations!

Re 1 : Of the petitioners from the western and southern parts of the German Reich who spoke out "for sufficient protective tariffs on agricultural and forestry products", the Baden Farmers' Association in Fautenbach stands out in particular, whose executive committee submitted 567 petitions from as many localities with 33,218 signatures. The Grand Duchy of Baden, however, was the German state with the largest share of farms with 2 to 5 ha of arable land in its total arable land: 31 percent. For farms from 5 to 20 ha, the corresponding share was 43 percent, for those from 20 to 100 only 9.2 percent and those over 100 3 percent. The *Badischer Bauernverein* now also asked "for acceptance of the double tariff", which means that it advocated an increase in grain tariffs. The government draft provided for minimum rates for grain, which could not be undercut in trade negotiations, and a general tariff for imports in the absence of a contract. For wheat, for example, the government's tariff proposal for the double tariff was: 5.50 M and 6.50 M/dt (or double quintals at the time) compared to the previously applicable rates of 3.50 M and 5 M. Although the Baden farmers did not go as far in their demands as the farmers' association, which demanded 7.50 M/dt, they were against an increase in grain tariffs and supported the government's proposal - as did other farmers' associations.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 2752.

Re 2: 38 petitions from farmers' associations and assemblies in western and southern Germany went beyond the minimum rate proposed by the government. Among those demanding a minimum rate of 7 M/dt for all types of grain was that of the Bavarian Farmers' Association in Würzburg with 7,3073 signatures. The farmers' association's demand for a minimum rate of 7.50 M/dt for all types of grain was supported by 140 petitions. 24 petitions from the Rhineland demanded minimum rates of 7.50 to 8 M/dt, two from Bavaria 8 M/dt. The Vereinigung der christlichen deutschen Bauernvereine zu Kempen (Rhine) demanded the same minimum rates for wheat and rye as the BdL, and higher minimum rates for barley and oats (6 M/dt) than provided for in the customs bill. This petition was supported by 559 municipalities.

Re 3: For a wide variety of agricultural products, the demands of the farmers' association often went beyond those of other petitioners. For example, the BdL proposed a seasonally differentiated tariff of 30 to 100 M for fresh grapes, while various umbrella organizations of winegrowers' associations only demanded 24-30 M. The BdL also went beyond the winegrowers' demands with regard to wine. For apples, pears and quinces, the Verein selbständiger Gärtner Rheinlands und Westfalens proposed a tariff of 3 to 15 M, depending on the packaging, while the BdL proposed a tariff of 6 to 15 M. For meat, milk, butter and eggs, the BdL demanded higher duty rates than the Association of Christian German Farmers' Associations in Kempen (Rhine). For hops, in agreement with the numerous petitioners from Bavaria, it demanded an increase in the duty rate to 100 M.

One cannot help but get the impression that the BdL always pressed ahead with demands that did not concern grain when a group of interested parties was particularly wealthy. Those who only sold freshwater fish, seeds or fine vegetables were supported by the BdL in their customs claims, at most at the minimum rates.

Many of the tariffs did not pass at the level demanded by the BdL, not even for animal products. But the BdL had managed to make itself the "champion" of farmers' interests too, at least of farmers' market or, if you like
Everyday interests.

Lenin wrote in 1915 in connection with the analysis of American conditions, but in his generalization he obviously had pre-monopolistic conditions in mind: "Under capitalism the small farmer – whether he wants to or not, whether he realizes it or not – becomes a commodity producer. In this change lies the whole heart of the matter. This change alone turns the small farmer, even if he does not yet exploit wage laborers, into an antagonist of the proletariat, a small bourgeois. He sells his product, the proletariat sells his labor power. As a class, the small farmers cannot but strive for an increase in the price of agricultural products, and this is tantamount to sharing the land rent with the large landowners and showing solidarity with them against the rest of society: The small farmer, with the development of commodity production, becomes inevitably, according to his *class position*, a *small agrarian*." And he went on to state that it was typical in capitalism that "the improvement of the position of the small farmer as a class is the result of his union with the landowners".

However, in my opinion, this analysis, written with regard to American conditions, also hits "the heart of the matter" with regard to Germany at the turn of the century.

¹⁹ W. J. Lenin, New Data on the Laws of the Development of Capitalism in Agriculture, in : Werke, vol. 22, Berlin 1960, p. 93.

Farmers, whether small or large, are known to be able to calculate. *In* any case, they did not allow themselves to be manipulated *against* their economic interests or everyday interests or even "short-term" interests if they followed the landowners as their "champions". A contrary interpretation would be unrealistic, would underestimate the peasant masses and would do them an injustice.

The manipulation took place on a different level. Sixty years after Lenin, Gollwitzer came to the following generalization from research on *European* peasant parties: where conflicts of interest between the landowners and peasants no longer raised any particular points of contention, conservative parties were often able to turn large sections of the peasantry into their electoral reservoir.²⁰

However, the political and ideological orientation of those conservatives in Germany who had made themselves the "champions" of the farmers' interests of the day is well known: "The militant nationalism of the **BdL**," write Fricke and Hartwig, "expressed itself increasingly strongly in anti-Semitism, in which various of its ideological variants, above all anti-capitalist demagoguery, anti-socialism and biologism with increasingly racist intensification, were united ... During the First World War, the BdL was one of the most reactionary and aggressive forces grouped around the All-German Association (ADV). The anti-socialist and anti-democratic basic line, which had tended to intensify since its foundation, culminated during the November Revolution and at the beginning of the revolutionary post-war crisis in militant anti-communism and anti-Sovietism, in the intensified struggle against the social and political rights of working people and in the efforts to restore the Hohenzollern monarchy. The successor organization to the BdL was the Reichslandbund (RLB)." ²¹

When Lenin writes that the small farmers, due to their class position, cannot avoid showing solidarity with the large landowners against the rest of society, he emphasizes the historical logic of this process. Its tragic aspects in relation to German development up to the middle of the 20th century lie in the particularly reactionary nature of the politically leading large landowners.

The practical agrarian policy program of these forces, the program at the founding of the BdL in 1893 (see Appendix 2), actually offered "no particular points of contention" with the farmers. It is impossible to see which of the 11 points farmers should *not* have shown solidarity with.

Were there any real possibilities for an alliance policy counter-program for social democracy at that time? This problem seems worthy of further discussion. Engels rightly emphasized that Social Democracy could promise nothing to the middle and large farmers. Impossible for them to advocate higher prices for foodstuffs! It was, however, indispensable to fight against "bread usury".

This struggle caused the considerable price increase for agricultural products in the period up to the

1. This was not enough to prevent World War II. (It should be emphasized that this price increase was in line with the international trend; however, thanks to other government measures flanking the protective tariff, grain prices in Germany, for example, were actually higher than on the world market by the full tariff rate).

The price gap between agricultural products and industrially produced agricultural inputs remained in favour of farmers until the First World War.

²⁰ *European Farmers' Parties*, p. 8.

²¹ -Lexikon :ur Par1eirngeschich1e Vol. 1. p. 248 and 24 1.

economy opened up.²² The rise in prices for agricultural products led to the stabilization of . income and operating conditions in agriculture, including those of farmers.

But how did this affect the situation of the workers?

If one calculates the indices for the development of nominal wages according to the periods given in Table 3 and compares them with the prices achieved by farmers, the following picture emerges.

Table 4

Indices of agricultural producer prices and wages in industry and agriculture (1895/99 = 100)

Year	Producer prices for agricultural products overall	Average wages in industry and agriculture
1880/84	106	81
1895/99	100	100
1910/13	136	133

Sources: Price indices from Table 3, wage indices calculated from J. Kuczynski's index series.

Data up to 1900: *Kuczynski, J., Die Geschichte der Lage der Arbeiter unter dem Kapitalismus*, vol. 3, Berlin 1962, p. 297 f.

Data from 1900 onwards: *Ebenda*, vol. 4, Berlin 1967, p. 326.

In the first period, money wages rose by a quarter. As agricultural prices fell, this had a strong impact on the rise in real wages. In the second period, average money wages rose by a third with strong strike activity - but due to the rise in food prices, this could *not* have an effect on real wages: they stagnated.

How should the *Social* Democrats have campaigned for such a development? Rather, by fighting against "bread usury", it fought and had to fight to prevent this development. What was expressed here was a genuine contradiction of interests that could not be overcome at the time.

This contradiction between "small farmers" and the working class only diminishes with the development of monopoly capitalism, when the threat of the monopolistic price gap and imperialist wars also links the interests of the "small farmers" more closely with the class interests of the proletariat, which become the vital interests of the broadest strata of the people.

In 1901/02, however, the aforementioned contradiction became clear: the "small farmers" could not avoid striving for an increase in agricultural prices, and the proletariat and its party could not avoid fighting most resolutely against the deterioration of the workers' living conditions caused by "bread usury".

This contradiction, which Lenin called antagonism, naturally had to affect the conditions of alliance between the working class and the peasant middle classes for the

²² *Baudis/Nussbaum*, p. 194 ff.

the following period. In the years in which this contradiction, which actually "belonged" to pre-monopolistic capitalism, still arose here, monopoly capital already had dominant weight in important branches, the foreign policy course had already been set for expansionist "world policy" for several years, the big agrarians had given their consent to the increased expansion of the war fleet, for which the

majority of the bourgeoisie under the leadership of the heavy industrial monopoly bourgeoisie. Essential conditions for alliance possibilities and necessities had matured, the epoch of monopoly capitalism had begun. But what is important for the analysis is that it is quite clear that this epoch had only just *begun*. Old, in short "pre-monopolistic" contradictions had by no means all disappeared, not all

"new" had already matured sufficiently. It was only with the deepening of these new contradictions over the course of decades that real alliance possibilities developed and Engels' ideas of 1894, which at the time had to remain a prognosis, proved to be the practical program of real alliance politics.

Appendix 1

Share of the individual size classes from 2 ha in the UAA of farms from 2 ha in Prussia 1882- 1939 (in percent).

Year	2-5 ha ¹	5-20 ha ¹	20- 1 00 ha ¹	1 00 and more ha ¹
1882 ²	8,1	24,1	34,5	33,3
1895 ²	8,2	25,4	33,6	32,4
1907 ²	8,5	29,0	32,8	29,5
1907 ³	9,3	29,4	33,8	27,6
(Territorial status from 1925)				
1925 ³	9,9	32,8	30,0	27,2
1934 ⁴	6,9	32,9	36,6	23,5
(Territorial status				

¹ In the censuses up to and including 1925, the size classes were formed according to the agricultural area, in 1939 according to the total farm area of the farms. The following also applies for 1939: Proportion of the individual size classes of 2 ha or more in the LNF of all agricultural and forestry holdings of 2 ha or more. The figures for 1939 are therefore not strictly comparable with those for 1925.

² Calculated according to *Statistisches Jahrbuch für den Preussischen Staat*, 1914,

³ p. 119. Calculated according to *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*,

⁴ vol. 1929, p. 61. Calculated according to: Ibid., vol. 1941/42, p. 104 f.

Appendix 2

The program of the BdL, which was adopted at the founding meeting on February 18, 1893 in the Tivoli Brewery in Berlin, contained the following demands:

1. sufficient customs protection for agricultural products and their ancillary industries.
2. Therefore, no reduction of existing tariffs, no trade agreements with Russia and other countries that would result in the reduction of German agricultural tariffs, and a corresponding regulation of our relations with America.
3. Protection of agricultural, especially ancillary farming businesses in every respect.
4. Restriction of livestock imports from countries suspected of being infected.
5. Introduction of the dual currency as the most effective protection against the fall in the price of agricultural products and produce.
6. Legally regulated representation of agriculture through the formation of chambers of agriculture.
7. Other regulation of the legislation on support residence, freedom of movement and breach of contract for workers.
8. Revision of worker protection legislation, abolition of the trademark requirement and approval of the administration.
9. Stricter state supervision of the product exchange in order to prevent arbitrary pricing that damages both the national economy and consumption.
10. Development of private and public law, including the forms of indebtedness of landed property and home legislation on the basis of German legal awareness, so that the interests of landed property and agriculture are better served than before.
11. Reduce the burden on rural self-governing bodies as much as possible."

Stenographic report on the constituent assembly of the Bund der Lo,ndwirte on February 18, 1893 in the hall of the Tivoli brewery in Berlin, Berlin n.d. (1893), p. 29 f.

Rosa Luxemburg's understanding of and fight for democracy

This issue is one of the most controversial problems in the reception of Luxemburg. Ever since Rosa Luxemburg's understanding of democracy was first misinterpreted and misused in the early 1920s to cover up anti-Leninist attitudes to the policies of the German Communist Party and the Communist International and to denigrate Lenin's principles of defending and consolidating Soviet power¹, attacks against Marxism-Leninism and real socialism have been repeated from time to time, following Paul Levi's ineffectual pattern.² From Rosa Luxemburg's unfinished manuscript "On the Russian Revolution"³ the one sentence about "freedom is always freedom of those who think differently"⁴ is torn out of its context and set against both the class-bound nature and the dialectics of the Marxist-Leninist understanding of democracy.⁵ An attempt is made,

¹ *The Russian Revolution*. A critical appraisal. Aus dem Nachlaß von Rosa Luxemburg, ed. and proofread by Paul Levi, Berlin 1922. This was immediately opposed by *Clara Zetkin*, Um Rosa Luxemburgs Stellung zur russischen Revolution, Hamburg 1922, and *W. I. Lenin*, Notizen eines Publizisten, in: Werke, vol. 33, p. 194 f.

² Cf. e.g. *Lelio Basso*, Rosa Luxemburgs Dialektik der Revolution, Frankfurt/Main 1969; *ibid.* and others, Rosa Luxemburg et lo sviluppo del pensiero Marxista, Rome 1973 ; *Raya Dunayevskaya*, Rosa Luxemburg, wornen liberation, and Marx's philosophy of revolution, New Jersey 1982 ; *ring Fetscher*, Nachwort, in: Rosa Luxemburg. Gedanke und Tat, ed. by Paul Frölich, Frankfurt/Main 1967 ; *hes.*, Rosa Luxemburg, in : Marxistische Porträts, Stuttgart-Bad Cannstadt 1975; *Ossip K. Flechtheim*, Rosa Luxemburg — ein Mensch mit seinem Widerspruch, in: Ders., Von Marx bis Kolakowski. Sozialismus oder Untergang in der Barbarei?, Cologne/Frankfurt/Main 1978; s., Einleitung zu Rosa Luxemburg : Politische Schriften III, Berlin 1975 ; *Norman Geras*, Rosa Luxemburg. Kämpferin für einen emanzipatorischen Sozialismus, Berlin (W) 1979; *Rosa Luxemburg in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten*, dargestellt von Helmut Hirsch, Reinbek b. Hamburg 1969 ; *Anette Jost*, Rosa Luxemburgs Lenin-Kritik, in: Jahrbuch der Arbeiterbewegung, vol. 5, Frankfurt/Main 1977 ; *Rosa Luxemburg oder Die Bestimmung des Sozialismus*. Contributions by C. Pozzoli, L. Basso, I. Fetscher, A. Cordova, D. Howard, G. Bedeschi, O. Negt, G. Badia, I. Seifert, G. Haupt, I. Agnoli, Frankfurt/Main 1974 ; *Peter Netti*, Rosa Luxemburg, vorn Autor gekürzte Volksausgabe, Cologne Berlin (W) 1969 ; *Sibylle Quack*, Geistig frei und niemandes Knecht - Paul Levi/Rosa Luxemburg, Politische Arbeit und persönliche Beziehung, mit 50 unveröffentlichten Briefen, Cologne 1983 ; *Georg W. Strobel*, Die Partei Rosa Luxemburgs, Lenin und die SPD. Polish "European" Internationalism in Russian Social Democracy, Wiesbaden 1974.

³ See *Rosa Luxemburg*, On the Russian Revolution, in : Gesammelte Werke, vol. 4, 3rd ed. Berlin 1983, p. 332 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 359.

⁵ See *Günter Radczun*, Einige Probleme der Haltung Rosa Luxemburgs zur proletarischen Revolution.

to suggest that Rosa Luxemburg had advocated a class-neutral, "human" concept of democracy, which largely came close to the ideal of bourgeois democracy and had not yet been realized anywhere.⁶

In reality, Rosa Luxemburg's view of democracy was never class-neutral, always Marxist, and in her consistent struggle for democracy, peace and socialism, Rosa Luxemburg was always revolutionary.⁷ This incontrovertible truth can be discovered by anyone who takes an unreserved look at her complete works. But above all, if one wants to understand Rosa Luxemburg's legacy in the struggle for democracy, one must take into account in a historically concrete way how different the social, political and ideological circumstances, the substantive points of reference, the theoretical debates and the time-bound, objectively and subjectively determined balance of power between progress and reaction were when Rosa Luxemburg wrote and spoke about democracy and fought for it, but also when later Marxist or non-Marxist interpreters commented on it.⁸

The time- and problem-related different intentions as well as the nature of the

Rosa Luxemburg's many brand and the conceptions of democracy she championed in the struggle demand that it be correctly distinguished whether her reflections were aimed at securing internal democracy in the proletarian party or whether she was fighting for how democracy should be preserved and shaped in the political life of society.

Rosa Luxemburg's remarks on inner-party democracy, on the other hand, need to be placed in relation to the very different conditions of struggle and development of the proletarian parties in Germany, Poland and Russia in the respective historical periods.

For Rosa Luxemburg's socio-political understanding of democracy, both the opposing reference levels of capitalism and socialism as well as contemporary and future-oriented motives and, finally, strategic and tactical aspects need to be considered in all their differentiation.

Zu Flechtheims Rosa-Luxemburg-Edition "Die russische Revolution", in: BzG, 1966, H. 1; *ibid.*, Einige Bemerkungen zum Rosa-Luxemburg-Bild von John Peter Nett!, *ibid.* 1969, H. 1; *ibid.* Zu einigen Aspekten des Rosa-Luxemburg-Bildes in der bürgerlichen Geschichtsschreibung, in: *Wiss. Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität*, 1971, H. 6; *Annelies Laschitzka*, "Eine neue, bessere Welt nimmt ihren Anfang". Über die Stellung der führenden deutschen Linken zur Großen Sozialistischen Oktoberrevolution, in: *Einheit*, 1977,

H. 3; *this*, afterword to *Annelies Laschitzka/Günter Radczun*, Rosa Luxemburg. Ihr Wirken in der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung, Berlin 1980, p. 523 ff.; *this*, Rosa Luxemburg und Karl Liebknecht über das Verhältnis von Demokratie und Sozialismus, in: *ZfG*, 1971, H. 7.

Thus de facto in *Heinrich August Winkler*, Von der Revolution zur Stabilisierung. Workers and labor movement in the Weimar Republic 1918 bis 1924, Berlin(W)/Bonn 1984, pp. 25, 114-119; *Lern- und Arbeitsbuch deutsche Arbeiterbewegung*. Darstellung, Chroniken, Dokumente, vol. 2, ed. under the direction of Thomas Meyer, Susanne Miller and Joachim Rohlfes, Bonn 1984, p. 428 ff.; *Hans-Peter Waldrich*, Der Demokratiebegriff der SED: Ein Vergleich zwischen der älteren deutschen Sozialdemokratie und der SED, Stuttgart 1980.

⁷ See *Gilbert Badia*, Rosa Luxemburg. Journaliste, Polemiste, Revolutionnaire, Paris 1975; *H. C. JI: >1c6opoBcKa11/P. JI. E63epo6*, P03a JI10KCeM6ypr. liHorpa4>H11eckHH O'lepK, Moscow 1974; *Annelies Laschitzka/Günter Radczun*, Rosa Luxemburg. Ihr Wirken in der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung, Berlin 1971 and 1980; *Bernhard von Mutius*, Die Rosa Luxemburg-Legende, vol. 1, Frankfurt/Main 1978.

⁸ See, for example, on the struggle against Luxemburgism *Klaus Kinner*, Marxistische deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft 1917 bis 1933. Geschichte und Politik im Kampf der KPD, Berlin 1982, p. 406 ff.

The analysis and classification of the much-disputed, unfinished manuscript alone "On the Russian Revolution" from 1918 according to these principles of historical materialism lead to interesting insights, which now make it possible to introduce new ideas into the discussion about Rosa Luxemburg's legacy in the struggle for democracy.

Our knowledge of the creation of the manuscript during the "protective custody" in Breslau comes from the estate of her comrades-in-arms, above all Leo Jogiches and Clara Zetkin. Both testify that it was written after disagreements with the editors of the "Spartacus Letters" over the assessment of the Brest Peace and represents Rosa Luxemburg's first attempt to come to terms with the February and October Revolutions in Russia in 1917 in a scholarly and critical manner.⁹ On December 20, 1921, Adolf Warski and Clara Zetkin revealed the betrayal that Paul Levi had committed by publishing Rosa Luxemburg's manuscript.¹⁰ He had kept it from the public for three years, only to exploit it for purposes that had nothing in common with revolutionary **criticism**. Rosa Luxemburg never completed this work and did not want to publish it.¹⁰ This manuscript is therefore a first, tentative, still unfinished attempt¹¹ to sketch out thoughts on fundamental questions of the proletarian revolution, and this under conditions that were extremely difficult for Rosa Luxemburg personally¹² and for the young Soviet power in terms of domestic and foreign policy¹³. Rosa Luxemburg's statements on her basic concern are all the more impressive. She regarded the Russian Revolution as the most powerful fact of the world war. "The tremendous extent assumed by the revolt in Russia, the profound effect with which it shook all class relations, rolled up all social and economic problems, consequently moved forward from the first stage of the bourgeois republic to ever further phases with the fatality of internal logic, all this shows on the flat that

the liberation of Russia was not the work of the war and the military defeat of the Tsarism was not the merit of 'German bayonets in German fists', as the 'Neue Zeit' under Kautsky's editorship promised in the editorial, but that it had deep roots in its own country and was completely mature inwardly."¹⁴

Rosa Luxemburg not only immediately showed solidarity with the establishment of the first workers' and peasants' power in Soviet Russia through the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917, but was immediately and unreservedly aware of the fact that something universally valid in world history had been achieved there.

As an experienced fighter and Marxist dialectician, she was aware of the great difficulty of establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the uncharted territory that had to be broken with the construction of socialist democracy after the destruction of bourgeois democracy.¹⁵

⁹ See Clara Zetkin, *Um Rosa Luxemburgs Stellung zur russischen Revolution*, Hamburg 1922, p. 7 IT.; Laschitz/Radczun, *Rosa Luxemburg*, 1980, p. 4 31 ff.; Günter Radczun, *Vorwort zu Rosa Luxemburg, Werke*, vol. 4, p. 25 IT.

¹⁰ *Against the betrayal of Paul Levi. Declaration !*, in: *Internationale Presse-Korrespondenz*, Vol. 1, No. 39, 1921,

S. 344.

¹¹ See Clara Zetkin, *Um Rosa Luxemburgs Stellung*, p. 9.

¹² See *Rosa Luxemburg, Gesammelte Briefe*, vol. 5, Berlin 1984, p. 380 IT.

¹³ *Siehe Geschichte der Kommunistischen Partei der Sowjetunion*, Vol. 3, Erstes Buch, Moskau o. J., p. 492f.

¹⁴ *Rosa Luxemburg, On the Russian Revolution*, in: *Werke*, vol. 4, p. 332.

¹⁵ See *ibid.*, pp. 334, 339, 341, 352, 359f., 363f.

The challenge of successfully mastering in practice the theoretically clear qualitative difference for Marxists between the bourgeois revolutions of past centuries and the proletarian revolution. In doing so, it was possible to build on the previous achievements and experiences of the Paris Commune of 1871¹⁶ and the revolution in Russia from 1905 to 1907¹⁷, and the class struggle experiences of the English revolution of the 17th century, the Great French Revolution of 1789 and the revolutions in Europe in 1848/49 also remained of fundamental interest.¹⁸

Nevertheless, the new was the decisive factor that had to be grasped and generalized. Rosa Luxemburg herself did this with astonishing skill in her unfinished manuscript, by focusing primarily on the question of power: "The Bolsheviks have shown that they can do everything that a genuine revolutionary party is capable of doing within the limits of historical possibilities. They should not want to work miracles. For an exemplary and faultless proletarian revolution in an isolated country, exhausted by world war, strangled by imperialism, betrayed by the international proletariat, would be a miracle. What is important is to distinguish the essential from the inessential, the core from the accidental in the Bolsheviks' policy. In this last period, in which we stand before decisive final battles throughout the world, the most important problem of socialism, the burning question of the time, was and is not this or that detailed question of tactics, but: the proletariat's capacity for action, the revolutionary energy of the masses, the will to the power of socialism in general. This is the essential and *permanent* aspect of Bolshevik policy. In *this* sense they have the immortal historical merit of having preceded the international proletariat with the conquest of political power and the practical problem of the realization of socialism and of having powerfully advanced the confrontation between capital and labour throughout the world . . . And *in this sense* the future belongs to 'Bolshevism' everywhere."¹⁹

Rosa Luxemburg's statements on freedom and democracy were based on the historical and class-based distinction between bourgeois and socialist democracy. "We have never been idolaters of formal democracy"²⁰, she wrote in a polemic against Kautsky, who distanced himself from the dictatorship of the proletariat in Soviet Russia, wanted to see the question of power resolved only within the boundaries of the bourgeois revolution and bourgeois democracy because of the country's alleged immaturity, and also supported the anti-Bolshevik attacks of the Mensheviks. Rosa Luxemburg went on to argue that the Marxists always separated "the social core from the political form of *bourgeois* democracy, we always revealed the bitter core of social inequality and lack of freedom under the sweet shell of formal equality and freedom – not to reject it, but to incite the working class not to be content with the shell, but rather to conquer political power in order to fill it with new social content".²¹ Kautsky perforated socialism when he formally opposed it with democracy.²² Rosa Luxemburg distanced herself from any kind and justification of socialism.

¹⁶ See *this*, On War, the National Question and Revolution, in : Ibid., p. 370f.

¹⁷ See *this*, On the Russian Revolution, in: ibid. p. 336, 360.

¹⁸ See ibid., pp. 335, 339, 342, 353 ff., 359.

¹⁹ Ibid, s. 365.

²⁰ Ebernja, p. 363 .

²¹ Ibid.

²² See ibid., pp. 338, 362.

glorification of bourgeois democracy and at the same time opposed half-measures in clarifying the question of power. It declared unequivocally on the alternative of the revolution in Russia, as it arose from the objective situation: "Victory of the counter-revolution or dictatorship of the proletariat, Kaledin or Lenin."²³ Many prerequisites helped her to come to this conclusion. Rosa Luxemburg had a thorough knowledge of the solution to the question of power in the bourgeois revolutions. She shared Marx's and Engels' views on state and revolutionary theory.²⁴ And in around 30 years of political activity as a socialist revolutionary, she had experienced at first hand that bourgeois democracy ultimately only ever served capitalist class rule and the imperialist policy of militarization, arms races, wars and colonial and national enslavement. Bourgeois democracy lived from the illusion of formal democracy and the illusions of parliamentary cretinism. It did not need any political training and education of the entire mass of the people beyond certain narrowly defined limits²⁵, as it was the rule of a minority over the majority.

Socialist democracy, on the other hand, as the dictatorship of the proletariat, is based on the rule of the majority over the minority of bourgeois, landowners and their accomplices who were overthrown in the proletarian revolution.

For the concrete situation of the revolution in Russia, the Bolsheviks did the only right thing, as Rosa Luxemburg repeatedly emphasized in her manuscript IJ, when they issued the slogan: All power into the hands of the proletariat and the peasantry!²⁶ The proletarian revolution in 1917 was no longer about securing bourgeois democracy, but about the dictatorship of the proletariat for the purpose of realizing socialism, and for Rosa Luxemburg this was identical with socialist democracy.²⁷ In the immediate moment of the beginning of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Rosa Luxemburg also developed ideas on the principles of shaping and preserving socialist democracy that were not only important for the moment of historical events.

possessed.

Rosa Luxemburg shared the views and actions of the Bolsheviks, which were based on the bitter realization that the international and national class confrontation between revolution and counterrevolution necessarily demanded the use of force, because the enemies of the working class wanted to suffocate the proletarian revolution in blood.²⁸ It pointed to the facts of how bourgeois politicians fomented nationalism against Soviet power, how the bayonets of German imperialism helped the counter-revolution in the Ukraine, Finland and the Baltic states, how the putsch of the Social Revolutionaries in July 1918, corruption, sabotage, etc. seriously threatened the revolution.²⁹ "When the entire middle class, the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois intelligentsia boycotted the Soviet government for months after the October Revolution," she wrote, railroad, postal and telegraph services, school operations, administrative services

²³ Ibid., p. 339.

²⁴ See in particular Rosa Luxemburg, *Sozialreform oder Revolution?*, in : Ebenda, vol.I, first ed, p. 367ff.

²⁵ See *this.*, *On the Russian Revolution*, in : Ibid., vol. 4, p. 359.

²⁶ See *ibid.*, p. 341.

²⁷ See *ibid.* and p. 363.

²⁸ See *ibid.*, p. 353.

²⁹ See *ibid.*, p. 348ff.

When the workers paralyzed the political apparatus and thus rebelled against the Aryan government, all measures of pressure against them were naturally called for: by depriving them of political rights, economic means of existence, etc., in order to break the resistance with an iron fist. This was the expression of the socialist dictatorship, which must not shy away from any power in order to enforce or prevent certain measures in the interests of the whole."³⁰

Since the revolutionary party of the working class has a great guide to socialism in its program³¹, but by no means has a ready-made recipe in its pocket as to what concrete measures are to be taken "to introduce socialist principles into the economy, into the law, into all social relations"³², socialist democracy requires unflagging creative power. Bureaucratism, corruption and clique economy were mortal enemies of the living exercise of power by the working class.³³ Infinite experience, the broadest training and uninhibited participation of the masses are the most important prerequisites for the creation of the socialist social system.³⁴

Socialism as something completely new in the history of mankind "requires a whole spiritual revolution in the masses degraded by centuries of bourgeois society", Rosa Luxemburg stated and demanded: "Social instincts instead of egoistic ones; mass initiative instead of inertia; idealism that carries away all suffering, etc., etc. No one knows this better, describes it more emphatically, repeats it more persistently than Lenin," emphasized Rosa Luxemburg with direct reference to Lenin's work. "The next tasks of Soviet power".³⁵

But how can it be explained that Rosa Luxemburg personally criticized the party of the Bolsheviks and Lenin for the merits of the Bolsheviks in saving democracy by establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat, that they used the wrong means and restricted or endangered socialist democracy through wrong measures? In her manuscript, Rosa Luxemburg polemicized against the distribution of land to the peasants, against the right to national self-determination until the state was dissolved, against the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly, against the withdrawal of universal suffrage for all those who did not work, as well as against the restriction of the freedom of the press, the right of assembly and the right of association³⁶, to finally write in the margin of the last of these critical manuscript pages, exaggeratedly and in contrast to all previous and later statements about the class character of both bourgeois and socialist democracy: "Freedom only for the supporters of the government, only for members of a party – however numerous they may be – is not freedom. Freedom is always freedom for those who think differently. Not because of the fanaticism of 'justice', but because all that is invigorating, salutary and purifying in political freedom depends on this essence and fails of its effect when 'freedom' becomes a privilege."³⁷

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 357f.

³¹ See *ibid.*, p. 359.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 360.

³³ See *ibid.*

³⁴ See *ibid.*, p. 356, 3591T.

³⁵ See *ibid.*, p. 360 f.

³⁶ See *ibid.*, pp. 353-359.

³⁷ See *ibid.*, p. 359, and the critical notes in the preface, p. 30.

This contradictory departure from the track of their thoroughly classist and Marxist understanding of democracy can only be explained if many aspects of the circumstances in which it was formulated and many aspects of their concerns are taken into account.

Rosa Luxemburg's controversial thought appears without a direct attribution note on the page of a manuscript which, as mentioned at the beginning, she did not complete, did not publish and from which – unlike other passages – she never included this remark in a later article. On the contrary, all the thoughts on the democracy complex expressed after this manuscript prove that Rosa Luxemburg was in no way advocating freedom or democracy per se without class ties. "It applies", she wrote during the November Revolution in Germany on December 1, 1918 in the

"Red Flag", "the 'Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite', proclaimed by the bourgeoisie in France in 1789, to become the truth for the first time – by abolishing the class rule of the bourgeoisie. And as the first act towards this saving deed, it must be put on record before the whole world and before the centuries of world history: What has hitherto been regarded as equality and democracy : parliament, national assembly, equal ballot, was a lie and a sham ! All power in the hands of the working masses as a revolutionary weapon to smash capitalism - that alone is true equality, that alone is true democracy!"³⁸

Rosa Luxemburg's Marxist standpoint on bourgeois democracy had been clearly defined since her active participation in the Bernstein debate at the turn of the century³⁹ and had become increasingly consolidated in the anti-imperialist struggle, which was associated with fierce disputes over opportunist attacks on the proletarian understanding of democracy.⁴⁰

Until the Great Socialist October Revolution of 1917, when the commitment to socialist democracy became the focus of practical experience and theoretical knowledge, Rosa Luxemburg's main concern was to clarify the nature, function, history and significance of bourgeois democracy for the working class's struggle for emancipation. In this respect, she mastered the complicated dialectic of opposition to the existing bourgeois state as a concrete, albeit often – as in the Wilhelmine Empire – crippled form of bourgeois democracy, the defense of bourgeois democratic rights and freedoms against the tendency of imperialism to negate democracy, and the constructive struggle of the working class to exploit and expand bourgeois democracy in preparation for the proletarian revolution. Rosa Luxemburg's statements and struggle for democracy in speech and writing, in theory and action, encompassed the entire possible range of problems of bourgeois democracy of her time and culminated before 1914 in her demand for a democratic republic as a mass mobilizing slogan for action in the struggle against domestic political reaction and imperialist preparations for war. "The slogan of the republic", she wrote, "is thus in

³⁸ *This*, National Assembly or Council Government, in : *Ibid.*, p. 465.

³⁹ See *Laschitz/Radezun* : Rosa Luxemburg, p. 30f. ; *Hans-Gerd Jrrlitz*, Probleme der Dialektik des Gesellschaftsprozesses im Denken Rosa Luxemburgs, phil. Diss. A, Berlin 1967.

⁴⁰ See *Annelies Laschitz*, Deutsche Linke im Kampf für eine demokratische Republik, Berlin 1969 ; *this*, Parteigeschichtliche Ereignisse, Prozesse und Probleme der Herausbildung der Krise der deutschen Sozialdemokratie in den Jahren 1910/1911, Diss. B, Berlin 1982.

Germany today is infinitely more than the expression of a beautiful dream of a democratic 'people's state' or of a political doctrinarism floating in the clouds; it is a practical war cry against militarism, navalism, colonial policy, world politics, Junker rule, the Prussianization of Germany; it is only a consequence and drastic summary of our daily struggle against all these partial phenomena of the ruling reaction."⁴¹

The demand for a democratic republic did justice to the new balance of power in the class struggle and was suitable for giving new impetus to the struggles of the working class for democracy, peace and socialism. It was based on the insights of Marx and Engels, was in line with the experiences of the revolution in Russia from 1905 to 1907 and was rooted in the party program and the exemplary struggles of German social democracy to exploit bourgeois legality for the interests of the working people. At the same time, it went beyond this, because it was sharpened to include the struggle against imperialist domestic and foreign policy and for better conditions of struggle to prepare the masses for the proletarian revolution and socialist democracy.

Leaving no opportunity unused to warn against illusions about the reformist expansion of bourgeois democracy into popular rule and the gradual transition to socialism without revolution, Rosa Luxemburg left no doubt: "The question put on the agenda by history is: *bourgeois* democracy or *socialist* democracy. For the dictatorship of the proletariat is democracy in the socialist sense. Dictatorship of the proletariat is not bombs, coups, riots, 'anarchy', as the agents of capitalist profit deliberately falsify, but the use of all means of political power for the realization of socialism, for the expropriation of the capitalist class – in the spirit and by the will of the revolutionary majority of the proletariat, that is, in the spirit of socialist democracy."⁴² Democracy or dictatorship, on the other hand, is the field cry of the counter-revolution, just as the phrases about "pure democracy" proved to be the pipe dreams of demagogues or the unrealistic dreams of petty-bourgeois illusionists.

Rosa Luxemburg wrote her criticism of individual Bolshevik measures out of concern for the assertion of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a socialist democracy against its enemies and opponents. She did not write them as an opponent of Lenin, but as his belligerent comrade-in-arms. She acknowledged that Lenin wanted the best and did not wish to be admired uncritically. What he needed was the unconditional support of the international working class⁴³, because the historical circumstances presented abnormal difficulties.

⁴⁴ and the 1. example of the dictatorship of the proletariat not from the beginning. could be perfect. Rosa Luxemburg wanted to issue a warning and her criticism

to consider where certain measures could lead.

She received her information about the Bolsheviks' concrete actions to secure workers' and peasants' power almost never from Bolshevik sources, but mainly from bourgeois and social democratic reports. It was difficult for Rosa Luxemburg in prison in Wrocław to form a precise idea of the concrete actions of the Bolsheviks.

⁴¹ Rosa Luxemburg, *Zeit der Aussaat*, in: Werke, vol. 2, Berlin 1972, p. 303.

⁴² See *this*, *The National Assembly*, in: Ebenda, vol. 4, p. 409f.

⁴³ See *this*, *On the Russian Revolution*, in: Ibid., p. 335.

⁴⁴ See *ibid.*, p. 364.

⁴⁵ See *ibid.*, pp. 334, 339, 341.

class power relationship between revolution and counter-revolution in the respective situation. It based its demands for the expansion of socialist democracy on the theoretically justified view of the historical superiority of socialist democracy as the rule of the majority over the minority, whose power must be so stable in nature that it should grant rights and freedoms relatively generously to all and could largely dispense with the use of force. It demanded "unrestricted democracy" in the abstract when constituting the dictatorship of the proletariat as a theoretical ideal, without having or being able to gain any practical experience of its own¹. In practice, the realization that the dictatorship of the proletariat can only go as far as the concrete situation of class power permits in granting democratic rights and in adopting existing democratic institutions and customs, and as far as it can be ensured under the given circumstances that institutions, rights and freedoms cannot be abused or converted by the counter-revolution, proved itself immediately.

Rosa Luxemburg was not yet fully aware of the new character of the soviets as revolutionary organs of power of the working class, in which Marx's insight from the Paris Commune about the unification of legislative and executive power was now realized in concrete terms. In this respect, she did not understand the unity of dictatorship and democracy as Lenin did, and once even went so far as to say that the Bolsheviks opposed dictatorship to democracy.⁴⁶

However, the overall conceptual statement of the unfinished manuscript on socialist democracy, as well as all later statements, allow the conclusion that the differences of opinion with Lenin and Trotsky on the "nature of the use of democracy"⁴⁷ in mid-1918 were a temporarily unresolved contradiction between the ideal and the reality of the breadth of socialist democracy under the Soviet power as the first successfully established dictatorship of the proletariat. Although Rosa Luxemburg recognized that the complicated foreign and domestic political situation forced the Bolsheviks to take violent dictatorial measures that were not necessarily desirable, she regarded them more as subjective blunders, unviable improvisations or distorted attempts⁴⁸, as historically conditioned side effects of the first birth of socialist democracy in a country against a world of enemies.

She was not immediately able to apply the dialectical unity of dictatorship and democracy, which she clearly addressed in theory, to her concrete practical understanding of Soviet power. In the concrete relationship to the constituent and the right to vote, her parable of the form of democracy as a shell and the character of democracy as a core became a schema that blocked her dialectical view. Since there was no practical experience of the democratic republic as the best approach to the dictatorship of the proletariat, Rosa Luxemburg believed, contrary to Lenin's most recent revolutionary experiences and Marx's insight from the Paris Commune, that the slogan for securing proletarian power could only be: constituents and soviets. After a few weeks of her own revolutionary experience in Berlin, she corrected this error at the end of 1918. As early as November 18, 1918, she warned against focusing on the National Assembly.

⁴⁶ See *ibid.* p. 362; *V. I. Lenin*, *State and Revolution*, in: *Werke*, vol. 25, p. 469.

⁴⁷ See *Rosa Luxemburg*, *On the Russian Revolution*, in: *Werke*, vol. 4, p. 363, also p. 29.

⁴⁸ See *ibid.*, pp. 334, 358, 360, 362.

Jung as a bourgeois counterweight to the workers' and soldiers' councils.⁴⁹ Two days later she described the National Assembly as a "surviving heirloom of bourgeois revolutions", as a "shell without content", i.e. a shell without a core, which had to be broken up and should not be frantically wrapped around a new core. "Whoever resorts to the National Assembly today is consciously or unconsciously reducing the revolution to the historical stage of bourgeois revolutions; he is a disguised agent of the bourgeoisie or an unconscious ideologue of the petty bourgeoisie."⁵⁰

Consequently, within a few months, Rosa Luxemburg herself resolved the contradictions that had arisen in her concrete relationship to the constitution of Soviet power. In this respect, her unfinished manuscript testifies to a brief transitory stage in the process of self-understanding. Critical as she was as a creative marxist, she dealt for the first time with questions raised by practice about the organization of proletarian power and its relationship to the progressive legacy of bourgeois-democratic traditions and institutions. Under the motto that not uncritical apologism, but only thoughtful criticism could uncover the treasures of the Bolsheviks' experiences and teachings⁵¹, she began to write her manuscript under the unfavorable conditions of "protective custody" behind prison walls in Wroclaw, where she was, as she wrote sarcastically, "on 'vacation' from world history"⁵².

This makes Rosa Luxemburg's absolute support for the Bolsheviks' policies, which she also wanted to reinforce with her criticism, all the more important. This revolutionary spirit is evident in almost every line she wrote and is finally revealed directly when she remarks:

"It would be asking superhuman things of Lenin and his comrades to expect them to conjure up the most beautiful democracy, the most exemplary dictatorship of the proletariat and a flourishing socialist economy under such circumstances. Through their resolute revolutionary attitude, their exemplary energy and their unbreakable loyalty to international socialism, they have truly achieved enough that had to be achieved under such devilishly difficult conditions."⁵³ It was therefore no empty phrase, but a conviction based on international experience and her own path of knowledge, when Rosa Luxemburg proclaimed the following slogan to the delegates at the founding party conference of the KPD

"All power to the workers' and soldiers' councils" as the abc of the proletarian revolution, which was and is to be learned exclusively from the Russians, from the Bolsheviks.⁵⁴ All attempts to interpret Rosa Luxemburg for a so-called third way to an allegedly democratic socialism, beyond Marxism-Leninism and real socialism, are in irreconcilable contrast to her actual development in the understanding and struggle for democracy and socialism, which led her to Lenin's side.⁵⁵

⁴⁴ See *this*, *The Beginning*, in : *Ibid.*, p. 398 ; w. I. Lenin, *Notes of a Publicist*, in : *Works*, vol. 33 , p. 194f.

⁴⁵ Rosa Luxemburg, *The National Assembly*, in : *Works*, vol. 4, p. 40-9.

⁴⁶ Rosa Luxemburg, *On the Russian Revolution*, in : *Works*, vol. 4, p. 364.

⁵⁴ *This*, *Our program and the political situation*, in: *ibid.* p. 498.

⁵⁵ See Annelies Laschitzka, *Was die Marxistin Rosa Luxemburg auszeichnen*, in : *ZfG*, 1984, H. 2 ; *this*, *Rosa Luxemburg edition and research in the GDR, balance and outlook*, in : *BzG.*, 1986, H. 4.

WOLFGANG RtrGE

On the dialectic of striving for peace and progress before and during the November Revolution

Stages in the life of a man born during the First World War: growing into post-war hardship and hope, recognizing the infirmities and crimes of the murder-laden system, rebelling against its anti-human nature and taking sides for a fundamentally overthrowing – and that could only mean: socialist – renewal of society, enthusiasm for the state asserting itself in eastern distant lands, which heralded a new era with its birth cry of "Peace!" heralded a new era, the fight against the greedy, rat-catching heralds of another pre-war era, death-defying resistance against the perpetrators of the Second World War and steadfastness in the face of their henchmen, redemption through the victory of the liberators coming from the East, Commitment to the establishment of a peace order, turning to history as a science, utilizing the lessons of the past and educating those born in the second war as a contribution to preventing a third, after which there can no longer be any post-war hopes – **as** has been precisely proven by natural scientists.

The issue of war and peace inevitably occupies a central place in *Heinrich Scheel's* oeuvre - he lived such a life. Not as an object of academe

The researcher's work was not a matter of objective, subtle or pacifist illusions, but rather - in accordance with the objective circumstances and the researcher's political stance - a tense field in the struggle between progress and reaction.

Heinrich Scheel's gaze penetrates the time in which a great revolution, proclaiming humanity – liberte, egalite, fraternite – stirred up an entire continent for the first time, a time in which wars borne by new and old class interests, by ideas and counter-ideas across borders sparked a rebellious spirit and blatantly transformed the counter-revolution into an export commodity. He explores the mystery of how wars were made and changed their character in the clashing arms era of the Jacobins and Napoleon, how longings for peace were formed, how they shaped history, how they were misused.

However, Scheel is not content with a dedicated examination of previous centuries. He also turns with fascination to the peace struggle of our time. Where the resistance during the Second World War is concerned, he is able to incorporate personal combat experiences into the investigation, enriching the research with his own experiences. And when dealing with problems of the First World War, he not only draws on this very thoroughly – from archives and libraries, but also from his knowledge of the aspirations and understanding of the people of that time, next to whom he grew up as a son, as a pupil, as a younger comrade.

In his study on the April 1917 strike in Berlin, published in 1957, Scheel describes

vividly describes the masses' yearning for peace, which has grown enormously after more than two years of imperialist war, and convincingly demonstrates "that the desire for peace among broad sections of the people gave a strong boost to the revolutionary movement in the working class".¹ This statement is indisputable and of general significance, as it applies equally to the struggles of which the April strike was the prelude. Nevertheless, it is worth dwelling on it, especially today, when the desire for peace is being articulated by broad sections of the population in the most diverse ways, and examining the contradictory nature of the relationship mentioned. For the fact that it was by no means a static relationship of dependence between the desire for peace and the revolution's prospects of success becomes clear if we follow the ever-increasing desire for peace in 1917/18 and the progress of the revolutionary movement up to the November Revolution - up to the uprising of the masses, which reaches into our present day not least because the majority of the German people sensed for the first time, and in some cases already recognized, *that imperialism and militarism must disappear from the historical stage if there is to be peace.*

Appreciating the Spartacus group's accurate assessment of the situation in April 1917, Scheel emphasizes emphatically that "the political struggle for peace and democracy" was of primary importance under the conditions of the military prison, even in the strike for the workers' immediate daily demands.² "The prerequisite for real peace," he writes, was "the overthrow of the government and the establishment of a democratic Germany."³

By pointing out the connection between the anti-war struggle and the struggle for the disempowerment of war politicians, the heart of the problem is struck. History has proven countless times that warmongers and perseverance strategists can throw themselves into the sheep's clothing of peacemakers and subordinate the masses in this way. Above all, in order to create the frenzy which — according to Rosa Luxemburg — is necessary to induce people of normal disposition to commit the methodical, organized, mass murder practiced in war⁴, the rulers have always not only stirred up xenophobia and chauvinism, but have also abused the deeply human longings of the working people. Two terms in particular have been used for this dirty business - terms that express centuries-old dreams of the oppressed for security and justice: *peace* and *freedom*.

Contrary to all historical experience, ordinary people are thus led to believe — in keeping with the violent mindset of the exploitative society - that war can create, consolidate and secure peace. At the same time, the rulers, who are rampant with unfreedom, use this approach to gain a place of honor in the deceitfully concocted image of friend or foe: they present themselves as patrons and champions of freedom, which they portray as an achievement that can only be withheld, curtailed or threatened by external forces.

¹ Heinrich Scheel, Der Aprilstreik 1917 in Berlin, in: Revolutionäre Ereignisse und Probleme in Deutschland während der Periode der Großen Sozialistischen Oktoberrevolution 1917/1918, ed. by Albert Schreiner, Berlin 1957, p. 7.

² Ibid., p. 41.

³ Ibid., p. 44.

⁴ Cf. Rosa Luxemburg, Die Krise der Sozialdemokratie (Junius-Broschüre), in: Gesammelte Werke, vol. 4, Berlin 1974, p. 64.

In August 1914, the perverted banner of peace and freedom was not only waved by the millionaire instigators of the war and the war planners, but also by the right-wing Social Democratic leaders, who painted the banner pink. They had not only declared that the officially proclaimed safeguarding of "German rights of life" was also about the welfare of the working people, but above all had emphasized the supposed necessity of defending peace and freedom: the former by breaking through the "encirclement" of Germany with its rigid weapons, the latter by smashing the Russian "Knutenherrschaft". The theoretical organ of the party had even endeavored to describe this renunciation of inter-nationalism as a "clear political will . . . of the German working class". Such a will, wrote the paper three weeks after the outbreak of war, called for "resisting the allies of Eastern barbarism in order to achieve an *honorable* peace and to put the last touch of horse and man to the *destruction of tsarism*".⁵

Only with the utmost demagoguery, relying on the confusion of their partly clueless supporters, playing on their traditional organizational loyalty and trumpeting the lack of principles of the centrists, had the right-wing leaders around Ebert, Scheidemann, David, Südekum and others succeeded, with the help of the party and press apparatus, which had long been soaked in opportunism, in holding together the party as a whole, once regarded as an international vanguard against militarism, at the moment of its abrupt shift into the camp of the class enemy. But be that as it may, it had succeeded. As a result of shameless manipulation, the *German proletariat's striving for peace* (and freedom) at the beginning of the world war — and in most of the other belligerent states, things were no different — could be at least partially harnessed to shield the criminal genocide, *thus partially serving to support the imperialist policy of plunder*.

Certainly, the most class-conscious social democrats condemned the leaders' attitude with disgust, opposed them and were guided by the unadulterated will for peace, which commanded them to wage the struggle against imperialism and imperialist war all the more consistently. But the fact remained that the desire and will for peace benefited not only the anti-war forces, but also the warmongers.

It would be incorrect to say that Ebert, Scheidemann and their party supporters had pushed for war. But, linking their personal fate and that of their organizations, their press, publishing houses, cultural institutions, etc. with the fate of the bourgeois state, they had adapted themselves to the system pushing for war to such an extent that they had in fact become part of it. Admitting this political corruption, one of them even confessed without hesitation that their "whole inner relationship . . . to the present state" had "shifted".⁶ Only concerned — like the liberal bourgeoisie — with "improving" rather than destroying the existing system, they preferred to accept the worst excesses of imperialism rather than reach for its throat.

The approval of the war loans by the Social Democratic parliamentary group in the Reichstag on

August 4, 1914 was therefore not just a temporary aid for imperialism,

⁵ Die Neue Zeit, 2 8.8.1914 (emphasis mine).

⁶ Cf. letter from Konrad Haenisch to Karl Radek, October 4, 1914 (quoted from: *History of the German labor movement* *wegung*, vol. 2, Berlin 1966, p. 439).

but also signaled that the right-wing leaders had long since turned away from the socialist ultimate goal of the working class. The vote tore as it were the veil that had hitherto concealed the fundamental change of front of the right-wing social democrats. Now they openly broke with internationalism and consequently trampled underfoot the pledge made by the workers' parties themselves, which obliged them to "exploit the economic and political crisis in the event of war to rouse the people and thereby accelerate the elimination of capitalist rule".⁷

Outraged, the revolutionary left castigated this betrayal and exposed the lie of a just war, together with the hidden intention behind it of harnessing the working class, which had been appointed the gravedigger of capitalism, to its cart. Karl Liebknecht stated: "This war¹ has not been fought for the welfare of the German people. It is not a German war of defense and not a German war of freedom, but a capitalist war of aggression and conquest." And further: "The slogan 'against Tsarism' served only the purpose of mobilizing the noblest instincts of the German people for the purpose of war, for the hatred of nations . . . The officially proclaimed formula of assured peace is clearly to be understood in terms of annexation policy."⁸ Protesting against the criminal folly of war, he called on the German people and the peoples of the other belligerent powers to rise up against their oppressors and smash the murderous militarism.

Rosa Luxemburg not only denounced the sacrilegious practice of the right-wing opportunists and centrists, but also their abandonment of all theoretical principles of scientific socialism. Her attitude, she noted sarcastically, was rooted in the postulate that "in peace . . . class struggle [applies] within each country, international solidarity outside, and in war . . . [class solidarity within, and the struggle between the workers of different countries without". This, she noted, inaugurated "a completely new 'revision' of historical materialism, a revision against which all of Bernstein's earlier attempts seem like harmless child's play".⁹

And more. "Drawing attention to a hitherto unimaginable dimension of universal historical perspectives, Rosa Luxemburg outlined with visionary vision the danger to all being and becoming that arose from the chances of survival of imperialism that became apparent at the beginning of the war. Weighed down by the terrible gravity of what had happened, she asked herself whether the conviction, hitherto unchallenged in the ranks of the socialists, that a first world war must also be the last, could still be upheld. She denied this; she was the first thinker in history to recognize the possibility of a whole *period of world wars* brought about by the continued existence of exploitative society. Anticipating the existential threat to humanity, she used the terrible words to describe the "ultimate consequence" of the unchecked continuation of such a period: '*depopulation, desolation, degeneration, a great cemetery*'. Based on a statement by Engels and the famous phrase of the

⁷ From the resolution of the International Socialist Congress, Stuttgart 1907 (quoted from: *Die revolutionäre Arbeiterbewegung im Kampf um den Frieden 1848- 1964*, Dokumente, Berlin 1964, p. 27).

⁸ Karl Liebknecht, "Theses" of November 1914, in: *Gesammelte Reden und Schriften*, vol. 8, Berlin 1970, S. 165, 167.

⁹ Rosa Luxemburg, *The Reconstruction of the International*, Works, vol. 4, p. 25.

KPD program — "Socialism or downfall in barbarism"¹⁰ — their summary was : "Either the triumph of imperialism and the downfall of all culture . . . or the victory of socialism, i.e. the conscious struggle of the international proletariat against imperialism and its method: war." ¹¹

Ebert and Scheidemann, who had taken refuge in social chauvinism out of pathetic motives, were neither willing nor able to grasp the world-historical consequences of the events for which they were partly responsible. Concerned only with petty justification, they evaded a real debate about the nature of the world war and hid behind the cliché that the attitude to the war was only ever "a question of tactics and not a question of principles".¹² Their method, aimed at disorientation, consisted of circumventing the essence of rebellion against the war and directing the barrage at the refusal of the revolutionary left to subordinate itself to majority decisions that in fact demanded subordination to the war fury. At the Würzburg Party Congress in 1917, Ebert railed against the "poisonous, hateful method of struggle" of the internationalists, who had pursued the party split and, with "obstinacy and fanaticism . . . disregarded the basic rules of democracy" instead of "carrying out the conflict through proper party channels".¹³ At the same time, the Social Democratic leadership continued to use the argument that support for the imperial government was primarily aimed at bringing about and securing peace. Five weeks after the overthrow of the Tsar by the Russian February Revolution, the "Vorwärts" wrote that "the empty (!) hope that events similar to those in Russia would occur in Germany in a few months' time could once again delay the end of the war, which already seemed near". And presenting the supposedly not-so-distant peace as a success of its own policy, the paper had the forehead to speak of a - "socialist work of peace" that "internal unrest in Germany at this moment . . . would [only] be capable of thoroughly disrupting".¹⁴

As the orgy of blood continued, however, divisive heresy, right-wing social democratic self-congratulation and peace-loving, disguised slogans of perseverance were increasingly less heard. The self-exposure of the right-wing leaders, who had allied themselves with the rulers for better or worse, was too blatant, as was the annexationist mania of the German rulers, who sought to perpetuate the occupation of vast territories and openly announced ever new war aims: Calais as a "German Gibraltar", Longwy, Courland, Livonia, German Central Africa. . . . At the same time, the fairy tale of the imperially sanctioned struggle for peace, of the freedom-bringing mission of the German army, was completely destroyed. The rape of Belgium, the annexation of the eastern territories and Wilhelm's reaction to the Russian February Revolution were a slap in the face. He swaggered, already imagining himself the conqueror of republican Petrograd: "Where my Guard goes, there is no democracy!" ¹⁵

¹⁰ Program of the Communist Party of Germany, in: *Revolutionäre deutsche Parteiprogramme*, ed. and introduced by Lothar Berthold and Ernst Diehl, Berlin 1965, p. 1 09.

¹¹ *Rosa Luxemburg*, *The Crisis of Social Democracy*, Works, Vol. 4, p. 62.

¹² From Ebert's speech at the Würzburg Party Congress in 1917 (after: *Friedrich Ebert*, *Schriften, Aufzeichnungen, Reden*, vol. 2, Dresden 1926, p. 8).

¹³ *Ibid*, pp. 9, 15, 1 3.

¹⁴ *Vorwärts*, April 16, 1917 (quoted from: *Scheel*, -April Strike, p. 24f.).

¹⁵ *Friedrich Ebert*, *Kämpfe und Ziele*, Dresden n. d., p. 37.

The fact that the will for peace of the most progressive forces had now matured to a new quality is confirmed by the grandiose strike of 300,000 Berlin armaments workers, which broke out on the very day that the "Vorwärts" came up with its anti-revolutionary incantation quoted above. This will was an essential driving force behind the April strike, the main task of which was formulated by the Spartacus group at the forefront of the struggle as "to enforce peace - just as our Russian brothers are doing now - and to shape it in accordance with the interests of the international proletariat, so that we have *our* peace and not the peace of the imperialists".¹⁶

Despite all the sympathy shown to the strikers throughout the country, only a minority of the proletariat was prepared to take active, sacrificial anti-imperialist action. The majority of the working class and a large part of the people were merely gripped by a galloping war-weariness, which was fed daily by hunger, deprivation at home and uninterrupted deaths on the fronts. The field post letters of the later German envoy in Warsaw, Ulrich Rauscher, who was a simple infantryman in Flanders in the summer of 1917, are symptomatic. The war, he wrote, had taken on forms "in which there can be no enthusiasm". And in another passage: "The soldiers 'in my immediate circle of comrades . . . [without exception, the outcome of the war is completely indifferent; whether good or bad, they only want peace.'" ¹⁷

Although resignation and indifference to the state of society as a whole can be heard here, it is clearly recognizable *that the longing for peace and -After two and a half years of massacre, it was no longer possible - or at least hardly possible - to exploit these hopes to support the criminal war policy.* A dangerous turnaround was in the offing for those in power.

Increasingly concerned about their credibility, the right-wing Social Democratic leaders now acted all the more eagerly as a counterforce to the Kaiser and capital, offering an alternative to the extension of the war. When they warned the Chancellor, it was intended to sound like pressure being brought to bear: "Adherence to war aims that go beyond one's own rights and are too

beyond what is achievable, prolongs the war and leads us to the abyss.

18. " But this was pure misdirection and hypocrisy : by supporting the aggressive war course, they left it to the imperial government to decide what was their own right and to the Supreme Army Command where the limits of what was achievable lay.

After the Russian October Revolution and Lenin's decree on peace had given new impetus to the hopes and willingness to fight of the forces pushing for an anti-imperialist peace, the right-wing Social Democratic leaders intensified their efforts to prevent actions born of the masses' will for peace or - if this did not succeed - to thwart them before they were able to question not only the smooth functioning of the imperial war machine but also the continuation of the war and the continued existence of the system. Their complicity with those in power was due to their fear of "Russian coercion", which had grown immeasurably after the fall of Kerensky and the victory of the October Revolution.

¹⁶ Quoted from: *Scheel, April Strike*, p. 85.

¹⁷ *Kurt Doß, Between Weimar and Warsaw, Düsseldorf 1984*, p. 31.

¹⁸ From the memorandum of the Social Democratic Party Executive Committee (quoted from: *Philipp Scheidemann, Memoirs of a Social Democrat, Part 2, Dresden 1930*, p. 26).

They were afraid of an upheaval that would not only sweep away the imperialist warmongers, but also them as their accomplices. Although from then on they were forced to pay lip service to a peace without annexations and contributions more and more frequently, they were all the more determined and brutal in their opposition to any action aimed at a democratic peace. When, in January 1918, more than a million workers took up the weapon of the mass strike in order to force the "speedy achievement of peace without annexations and without war reparations"¹⁹ with explicit reference to the Soviet peace offer, they threw themselves, barely camouflaged, into the struggle for peace.

They took the lead in thwarting the demands they themselves had supposedly made. While they had relied on second-ranking trade union functionaries to stifle the April strike in 1917, now that the situation of German imperialism and their own was becoming increasingly precarious, Ebert, Scheidemann and Braun, the first line of the party leadership, in whom many working people still saw confidence-inspiring guardians of the tradition of the socialist movement, came to the fore.

The testimonies given seven years later at the trial for the January strike of 1918 are well known: bourgeois politicians and generals swore that the "Social Democratic Party ... and in particular the leaders were so patriotically minded and so zealously active for the fatherland . . . [than any other party]" (Fehrenbach) and that

"Ebert . . . had at all times emphatically supported the demands of the Supreme Army Command" (Groener). Scheidemann even boasted explicitly that "through our work" he had brought the strike to a standstill and prevented "Russian conditions".²⁰

The Social Democratic party leader could not have said this publicly in the spring of 1918. For at that time, the overwhelming majority of German working people were enthusiastic about the peace-promising revolutionary feat of the Russian workers and peasants, and many regarded it as an obligatory international pioneer performance.

But more and more people, who did not see through the deep social roots of the bloodbath, increasingly came to the realization that the longed-for peace could only become genuine and lasting if its establishment simultaneously weakened those who had prevented its conclusion for so long. As a result, not only individual groups of those pushing for peace, but the majority of them became the *direct reserve* of the anti-imperialist movement, its almost inexhaustible recruiting ground. This turn of events and the looming military defeat on the fronts now, in the fifth autumn of mass murder, confronted the authors and top managers of the war with the age-old choice of either losing the war or giving way to popular anger. Now they themselves were pressing for an immediate end to the hostilities, and even a Ludendorff declared that "if his person was an obstacle to peace, he was prepared to take his leave".²¹

In this situation, the right-wing Social Democrats made the transition from a policy of peace to one of coalition and joined the imperial "reform ministry" formed at the beginning of October, at the head of which a prince with general epaulettes was appointed,

¹⁹ *From the demands of the striking Berlin workers, January 2, 1918 (quoted from: Dokumente und Materialien zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung, Reihe II, Vol. 2, Berlin 1957, p. 75).*

²⁰ *Ebert, Struggles and Goals, pp. 362 f., 353f.*

²¹ *Note by Colonel v. Haefen, 26. IO. 1918 (after: Erich Matthias Rudolf-Morsey [editor], Die Regierung des Prinzen Max v. Baden, Düsseldorf 1962, p. 363).*

who had already recognized eight months earlier : "He who makes peace will reign afterwards."²² With the boastful announcement that Germany was "on the way from an authoritarian state to a people's state"²³ , they tried to suggest to the masses that the will of the people – the end of the war – would now be realized by the state they helped to represent.

However, as Rosa Luxemburg had predicted, the "Ministry of Reform" was unable to fulfill its function as a lightning rod against the gathering popular storm. Three weeks after its appointment, the call that soon drowned out everything and led directly to the revolution echoed through Germany: "*End the war! Away with Kaiser Wilhelm!*"

In this call, the two parts of which formed an inseparable unity, it was expressed - albeit in a unified way, but with elementary force - that the desire for peace of the politically alert part of the people, and certainly also of its majority, was now borne by an anti-imperialist impetus, that the masses were no longer concerned with peace per se, but with a peace without an emperor, without the old rulers, without the previous social order.

From this moment, i.e. from the end of October 1918 until the revolution spread to the imperial capital on November 9/10, there was *the greatest possible harmony between the general will for peace and the revolutionary movement* that was preparing to storm the anti-popular regime. Now the latter not only received a strong boost from the will for peace, but also had an unprecedented effect on it. It became apparent that the (b)upcoming anti-imperialist popular uprising would take the form of a grandiose peace movement in its initial stage. Realizing this, the rulers and their right-wing Social Democratic committees tried to blackmail the masses with the threat that the revolution would create "disorder", destroy the executive apparatus, torpedo negotiations with the enemy powers and consequently delay the end of the war. The government now pretended to have to defend the peace agreement against the onslaught of the people! "Any indiscipline," it declared, "will jeopardize the conclusion of an early peace in the most serious way."²⁴ The Social Democratic echo sounded even more insistent: "The more unitedly you support our action . . . the more surely we shall quickly arrive at a lasting peace. . . Therefore, do not follow any slogan that comes from an irresponsible minority.

is given!"²⁵

The *appeal to accelerate peace* had thus become *the battle cry of the forming counter-revolution* against the peace-seeking revolution. The modified reactionary peace rallying cry, now dispensing with all the flourishes of demonizing the external enemy, served solely and bluntly to paralyse the internal enemy.

When the masses, no longer holding anything back from promises, nevertheless rose up - the Kiel sailors raised the first red flag on November 3 – the rulers were not only prepared to surrender at the front. To save their system, they got rid of

²² Joachim Petzold, "Ethical Imperialism", in : Politik im Krieg 1914 – 1918, ed. by Fritz Klein, Berlin 1964, p. 221.

²³ From the appeal of the SPD party executive, 17.10.1918 (quoted from : *Dokumente und Materialien*, a. a. 0, s. 251).

²⁴ From the appeal of the Reich government, November 4, 1918 (quoted from *ibid.*, p. 292).

²⁵ From the appeal of the SI board: 'D, 4. 11 . 1918 (*ibid.*, p. 2 90).

(they recommended that he die a hero's death in the last battle, but he preferred to flee to Holland) and recognized a supposed revolutionary government under Ebert-Scheidemann. However, this was not too difficult for them. On the one hand, the cleverest among them calculated that the conclusion of the harsh armistice by civilians would "leave the weapon bare and the general staff unencumbered for the future . . .".²⁶ Secondly, they could be convinced that the new rulers would oppose the popular movement with "all their might" and, as Groener, as military leader, exulted, "with *my* objectives and with all the means *I* consider suitable for fighting the revolution".²⁷ Truly : "Pie bourgeois class society" – according to Rosa Luxemburg's analysis – "fight[ed] . . . under a foreign flag, under the flag of the revolution itself. It . . . [was] a socialist party, . . . the most original creature of the workers' movement and the class struggle, which had transformed itself into the most powerful instrument of the bourgeois counter-revolution."²⁸

Although the ceasefire delegation was still led by the now overthrown emperor However, on the second day of their term of office – November 11 – the "People's Representatives", as the new government team Getzt pharisaically called itself, copying "Russian conditions", were able to announce that the ceasefire had just been agreed and the guns were silent. Ebert and Scheidemann, for whom the conclusion of the war arranged by the generals had fallen into their laps, *now* triumphantly posed as bringers of peace. This disguise brought them a huge gain in prestige and could therefore appear to be a clever move. In the long term, however, it proved to be a bad speculation.

No matter how loudly they proclaimed that the will of the people had been carried out, the war had not ended in accordance with the demands of the masses in that the old powers, whose bankruptcy estate Ebert and his followers took over, got off scot-free. It followed, however, that the generals and their backers, who had been relieved of responsibility for the oppressive outcome of the war, remained capable of action and could – if not today, then tomorrow – work towards the destruction of the new state supported by Social Democracy and the destruction of Social Democracy itself.

Subjectively, Ebert and Scheidemann were far from preparing a comeback of the most extreme reactionaries, but objectively they gave the green light for it by placing themselves in front of the militiamen. "Of course," wrote an associate of Ludendorff, who had cowardly fled to Sweden at the beginning of the revolution, "we were guided by . . . not the desire to lift Social Democracy into the saddle ... but first of all we wanted and had to march together with Social Democracy - because in the mood prevailing in Germany at the time and in view of the nightmare of the external enemy there was no other way - in order to stifle our common enemy, the 'Spartacists'. Once this had been achieved, we wanted to present our former allies with the bill from November 1918 and have them settle it."²⁹ This is exactly what Hitler did 14 years later.

²⁶ *Wilhelm Groener, Lebenserinnerungen*, edited by Frhr. Hiller v. Gaertringen, Göttingen 1957, p. 467.

²⁷ From Groener's testimony in the Dolchstoßprozeß (after: *Hans Herzfeld, Die deutsche Sozialdemokratie und die Auflösung der nationalen Einheitsfront im Weltkrieg*, Leipzig 1928, p. 383 - emphasis mine).

²⁸ *Rosa Luxemburg, A Pyrrhic Victory, Works*, vol. 4, p. 471.

²⁹ *Waldemar Pabst, Spartacus*, in : *Revolutionen der Weltgeschichte*, Munich 1933, p. 827.

It is indisputable, however, that the conclusion of the armistice was initially perceived by the overwhelming majority of the people as a tremendous relief. Now that the Kaiser was no longer there, people believed that their demand "Stop the war! Away with Kaiser Wilhelm!" had been fulfilled.

However, the nature and appearance of the events diverged. Wilhelm's palace had remained, only *this* war had ended. There was no ban on war as such, as a form of existence of the exploiting society. Not only did it continue to rage even now, in the midst of the peace turmoil - in the East, where it was against Red Russia. In the secret control centers of those in power, work was already underway on its resurrection on a grand scale. The Chief of the General Staff Groener, who had conspiratorial ties with Ebert, was, in his own words, sounding out the American headquarters in Europe "to what extent the former opponents would be willing to join forces to defeat the Bolsheviks"³⁰ and had an operational plan for the advance on Moscow drawn up under the code word "Spring Sun". A future war of revenge against the Western powers was also already being considered. At a general staff meeting in December, Major Schleicher, who would later become Reich Chancellor and Hitler's stooge, outlined the perspective planning: "On the basis of the restored order, the economy must be brought back to health. Only on the shoulders of an economy rebuilt from the ruins could then . . . could the restoration of external power be undertaken."³¹ Those who recognized that the fundamental turning point for which the masses had risen had not yet been reached, urged the overcoming of half measures, the completion of the democratic revolution, the transition of the struggle into the socialist revolution. Their vanguard, the Spartacus League, founded by Liebknecht, Luxemburg and comrades as the nucleus of a new revolutionary party, focused on "driving the revolution forward beyond its previous meagre results": "The proletariat must finally wrest political power from the ruling classes . . . must wrest from the capitalists their economic power, the deepest and firmest foundation of class rule, snatch."

However,³² the majority of those involved in the revolution did not realize that for the time being only a facade renewal had taken place, not a change of system. Above all, a large proportion of the soldiers, who detested war and cadaver obedience but were ambivalent about socialism, believed that the victory over militarism had been won and secured. The revolutionary forces endeavored to open their eyes to the true face of the regime of the "People's Deputies". "In your joy over the end of the terrible genocide," it said in an appeal by the Red Soldiers' League in November, "over the reunion with your loved ones at home, [you] believed these wolves in sheep's clothing. In this joy you had forgotten all oppression, all misery and [all] misery . . . If this war is to be the last and the peoples are to be assured of a happy future, then every member of the Soldiers' Council, this fundamental element of the new form of government (and this, of course, applied to all organs of the revolution - W.R.), must become a part of it,

³⁰ Groener, *Memoirs*, p. 486.

³¹ Friedrich v. Rabenau, *Seeckt*. From his life 1918-1938, Leipzig 1940, p. 118.

³² From the resolution of a mass meeting of the Spartacus League, 21.11.1918 (quoted from: *Documents und Materialien*, op. cit., p. 444) and Karl Liebknecht, *Leitsätze*, 28. 11. 1918, in: *Gesammelte Reden und Schriften*, vol. 9, Berlin 1971, p. 632.

but also anyone who is not in favor of the unconditional rule of the workers' and soldiers' councils should be removed."³³

Many workers also relied on the supposedly won victory, believed that the war had been overcome once and for all and, weighed down by petty-bourgeois illusions, relied on the fact that the socialist social order would now be introduced by the famous decrees of the government led by "Comrade Ebert".

Thus the unity of action that had been achieved in the first onslaught of the revolution, especially in the workers' and soldiers' councils that had been created everywhere, had to break down: those who were determined to hold on to what they had achieved now stood *alongside* those pushing forward – and soon *against* them too.

The dialectic of the struggle for peace and progress revealed that general peace the strongest impetus to the popular uprising, which gave it an undreamt-of breadth.

The moment yesterday's war extenders managed to seize it, it became a stumbling block to the further struggle for an order of freedom and peace.

The perfidy of yesterday's war extenders consisted not least in the fact that they defamed the world's exemplary champions of peace – the Bolsheviks – and the most consistent peace fighters in their own country – Spartacus and comrades – as bloodthirsty forces driving to war. They pointed to the interventionist and civil war in Russia unleashed by their complices and denounced not the white generals who were forcing a life-and-death struggle on the workers' and peasants' power, not the foreign invaders who were ravaging Russia, but the Russian Communists who were defending the new peace order with weapons in their hands. Ascribing to themselves the merit of having steered the German revolution into peaceful channels, the right-wing social democrats presented things as if socialism could be achieved according to their recipe in agreement with the former masters without sacrifice and renunciation. Thus they presented the masses, thirsting above all for the preservation of peace, with the mendacious alternative of two paths to socialism: the Russian forced march through struggle and privation and the German spa ziergang with ballot paper in hand.

The height of their infamy was that they simultaneously prepared and carried out a brutal campaign of extermination against those who had fought from the outset for a society truly free of war. The Soldateska of their Kwnpan Noske murdered Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Wherever the workers rose up to further the revolution, they set up a cruel regiment of white terror – in Berlin, in Bremen, again in Berlin, in central Germany, in the Ruhr, in Munich. And in the event that the socialist revolution gained strength throughout Germany, the new rulers had already taken the precaution of asking the imperialist Western powers, the former enemy states, to march their troops into Germany, in other words to wage war on the fatherland, which they had placed above all else.³⁴

³³ From the appeal of the Red Soldiers' League, November 1918 (quoted from: *Dokumente und Materialien*, op. cit. p. 452).

³⁴ Cf. *A lbert Norden*, Die Novemberrevolution 1918 und das Wiedererstarken des deutschen Imperialismus, in: *Einheit*, 1958, H. 10, p. 1452.

The unveiling of the right-wing social democrats that accompanied the defeat of the revolutionary herd, the anti-Soviet movement and the eradication of the partial achievements of the revolution deepened the division of the working class and led to an intensified confrontation between the factions advocating and opposing common ground with the bourgeoisie. This confrontation also characterized the spring struggles of 1919, in which the question of war or peace hardly played a role.

However, as the preparation of the peace treaty increasingly became the focus of public attention and it became clearer from month to month – until the publication of the text of the treaty in June – that the victorious Western powers were preparing a brutal dictate, outrage at the "unjust" and therefore unreal peace spread, actively encouraged by counter-revolutionaries of all stripes, particularly among the petty bourgeoisie and middle classes. This was all too understandable, as these people had shouldered their rifles in 1914 with the awareness that they were serving a just cause, and even now the new rulers were doing everything they could to continue to deny the Empire's well-known main culpability in the war.

Thus, for the next period of the class struggle, in which the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attacks and the prevention of a new world war played an important role, a constellation emerged in which the bitterness of broad non-proletarian strata over the "renunciation politicians" of Versailles and their

The pursuit of a "real" peace was water under the bridge for reaction and then also for fascism.

JÜRGEN KUCZYNSKI

The attitude of the intelligentsia towards democracy, anti-fascism and socialism in the Weimar Republic

The intelligentsia as the main occupational stratum of society is at least 5000 years old. It is the only stratum that will miraculously survive all strata and classes. For in perfect communism it will, as Marx foresaw, embrace the whole of humanity. Marx expects communism to "reduce the necessary labor of society to a minimum, which will then be followed by the artistic, scientific, etc., education of the individuals by means of the labor that is necessary for them. The artistic, scientific, etc. education of individuals will then correspond to this through the time and means created for them all."¹

If it took hundreds of thousands of years for the crudest form of stone axe to become an excellently effective tool made of stone, then no professional intelligence was required for this to become effective as a productive force. And if cave paintings, made tens of thousands of years ago, still deeply move our sense of beauty today, they still failed to achieve their actual purpose, namely to increase hunters' happiness through magic.

It was only a few millennia before our era that a full-time intelligentsia emerged in China, Egypt and India. At first it was probably a religious intelligence and an administrative intelligence, both of which were extremely important as a power of rule and leadership. Only later did a scientific intelligence begin to take effect as a productive force. This was certainly preceded by artistic intelligence in the form of professional singers and storytellers.

In the course of its history, the working class has developed a quantitatively and qualitatively growing vanguard of revolutionary fighters against capital, which it has already led to victory in one third of the world.

The intelligentsia only had an avant garde at a few high points in its development, which served the advancement of science and the arts. For the most part, it only advanced humanity through an elite, i.e. a very small militant unit. There was an avant-garde of the intelligentsia in Europe during the period of prosperity and the first signs of decline in ancient Greece, during the Renaissance, before the English and French bourgeois revolutions, around 1800 in Germany and after the October Revolution in the Soviet Union.

Nor can any later period, measured by the diversity of the composition of the avant-garde, be compared with the heyday of ancient Greece and the Renaissance. For

¹ *Karl Marx*, *Grundrisse der Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie*, Berlin 1953, p. 593.

Only in these two periods do we have peaks in science, fine literature and the visual arts at the same time.

The intelligentsia was usually composed in such a way that there was a tiny, progressive, great-fighting, so often persecuted, tortured, murdered group that rarely reached the size of an avant-garde, that it often consisted mainly of members who were socially less committed, sometimes not at all politically committed in their consciousness, and a minority of consciously anti-progressive figures.

In the Weimar Republic, things were different. If we count the teachers at schools as part of the intelligentsia, and we must, because together with the clergy they made up the majority of the intelligentsia, then these two groups were generally consciously reactionary. The vast majority of them had a right-wing bourgeois orientation. However, if we ask the question even more pointedly, namely about their position on fascism, then we find, even in the last years of the Weimar Republic, not very many fascists among the clergy, but an increasing number among the teachers.

Here we observe a decisive difference to France, for example. Whenever the workers' parties suffered an election defeat there (until after the Second World War), the percentage of the intelligentsia in parliament fell because a relatively large number of teachers were nominated as candidates by the workers' parties.

The majority of the scientific and technical intelligentsia in the Weimar Republic was also reactionary.

The situation was better among the bourgeois social scientists, the majority of whom supported the reaction through their "neutrality" and political inactivity, but who did not include a large minority of "real" reactionaries and only a very small minority of somehow (consciously) progressive scientists.

The situation was far better among writers and visual artists. Initially, regardless of their political orientation, their political commitment was decidedly greater than that of the scientists. And then, among those of literary-technical stature, the number of those with a progressive commitment was far greater than among the social scientists. A perfectly formed reactionary poet like George was a rarity. There were quite a few progressive writers of a good literary standard

- such as Stefan and Arnold Zweig, Thomas and Heinrich Mann, Jacob Wassermann, Lion Feuchtwanger etc. etc. Among the visual artists, too, there were quite a few who promoted progress: from the Bauhaus group to Corinth, Liebermann and Barlach. In fact, one can speak of a rebirth of the progressive bourgeois intelligentsia in the Weimar period. They all stood up for democracy and often openly opposed fascism. They all knew what fascism meant in terms of foreign policy. None of them had any idea – but this was also true of the workers' and party intelligentsia – how it **would** affect domestic politics. would rage politically.

But the intelligentsia also included - for the first time in human history - an intelligentsia of working people, especially in the trade unions and workers' parties. In Germany \Yar it was larger than in other capitalist countries due to the decades-long history of the organized workers' movement and the more or less successful teaching in the study of Marxism, the dissemination of the works of Marx and Engels and (in the Communist Party) the increasing publication and reading of Lenin's writings.

The academically educated intelligentsia within the Social Democratic Party was not insignificant in terms of numbers, in contrast to the Communist Party and the trade unions, in which it played no significant role whatsoever, especially in the Communist Party after the murder of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, after the death of Franz Mehring and the elimination of the ultra-left in the early 1920s.

I believe that it was right to ask the bourgeois intelligentsia only about their attitude to democracy and fascism. If some of them believed that they had some kind of positive attitude towards (scientific) socialism, this was in fact a subjective error in almost all cases.

This question is all the more justified in the case of the intelligentsia, which stood with the working class and was mostly organized in the Social Democratic Party. In this party, we must make a clear distinction between the "left" and the "right". The "right-wingers" may have called themselves socialists, but they were opposed to the demands and requirements of scientific socialism. Despite some weaknesses in their understanding of the necessary tactics and strategy, which the communists also had, the "left" can still be proudly called socialists, although this does not apply to the "center" in the Social Democratic Party and the large mass of trade union members in general.

The situation in the Communist Party and among many of its voters was quite different. Despite misjudging the solution to the all-important strategic problem of who the main thrust should be directed against, the Communists and many of their sympathizers were genuine, deeply convinced socialists, and this also applied to the intelligentsia, including, of course, those who had joined them from the bourgeoisie, such as Johannes R. Becher or Käthe Kollwitz.

If we examine the progressive intelligentsia in the Weimar Republic in terms of class, then it is noticeable, in contrast to the transition from feudalism to capitalism in Germany, for example, that the share of the dying class of the bourgeoisie in progress was far greater than that of the dying feudal nobility, say, around 1,800. This does not apply to the scientific, military and full-time political intelligentsia, but to a very large extent to the artistic intelligentsia, to the representatives of fine literature and the fine arts. But how much broader was the spectrum of the progressive intelligentsia in the half-century before the Revolution in France! A comparison with the same period before the English Revolution is not possible, since around 1600 a part of the nobility there was already economically bourgeois, i.e. capitalist. Unique in history, of course, were the achievements of Greek intelligence from the upper classes in the period of decline of the polis, for example with Plato from the oldest Greek noble family and Aristotle, son of the personal physician of the King of Macedonia and himself an educator of princes - Alexander the Great was his pupil.

The study of such connections is fascinating, and far too little is done about it. Some things cannot be explained, and we can only wonder happily - such as the appearance of the greatest scientific figure before **Marx**, Aristotle, in the advanced decline of the society in which he lived, above **Marx**, even before the proletariat had constituted itself as a class in Germany, when it was just emerging as a self-conscious class in France and was just beginning to become hereditary in England. Two inexplicable miracles in the history of intelligence: Aristotle as a latecomer, Marx as a springtime.

Anti-fascist German exile literature in the historical and cultural situation in the USA 1933-1945

As an Americanist who has long been involved in research on the Marxist reappraisal of literary and social developments in the USA during the 1930s, I am primarily concerned with the American reflection on the phenomenon of anti-fascist German exile literature in the USA from 1933 to 1945 (48). If on the one hand it is undisputed that the cultural and social conditions and national specifics of the host country did not remain without consequences for the exiled authors, on the other hand there seem to be only very vague ideas about the repercussions of the existence of such literature, the activities, living and creative conditions, views, experiences and behavior of the – as it is usually called in American – "anti Nazi writers" of German-speaking representation on the general literary and cultural scene of the United States of that period. Although latent for years and not very visible to the general public, such interrelationship and correlation came almost spectacularly into the national and international spotlight, at least during the period of the anti-Hitler coalition, but especially in the years 1942–1945, i.e. at the time when anti-fascist struggle and official government policy seemed to be in complete agreement in the USA as well. It is therefore no coincidence that President Franklin D. Roosevelt sent the following telegram to the writers' congress convened in Los Angeles in October 1943 by the Hollywood Writers' Mobilization and the University of California, at which Thomas Mann and Lion Feuchtwanger also spoke as well-known representatives of the German authors in exile and to which the Soviet writers and war correspondents Mikhail Sholokhov, Alexei Tolstoy, Ilya Ehrenburg, Konstantin Simonov and Leonid Leonov conveyed their greetings and best wishes:

I send these greetings to the Writers' Congress with a deep awareness of the importance of such a gathering of writers in our day. It is "a symbol, it seems to me, of our American faith in the freedom of expression – of our confidence in the ability of our writers to present and illuminate the burning issues of our time. The men and women gathered here have all already done a great service to the nation by helping to explain the basic issues of this war and the nature of our enemies. I am confident, especially now that we are increasingly certain of victory, that you will be no less successful in your efforts to educate the people about the complex problems we must solve if peace is to become a lasting reality."¹

¹ See *Writers' Congress. The Proceedings of the Conference held in October 1943 under the sponsorship*

Especially in these days, when we look back on the defeat of Hitler's fascism and the end of the Second World War instigated by him forty years ago, words like these and the hopes they express deserve special attention. At the same time, all honest anti-fascist efforts should be brought back into the public consciousness, which also took place under the sign of the anti-Hitler coalition in those capitalist-imperialist states that became the main representatives of the Cold War era, anti-communism and anti-Sovietism shortly after the end of the war. A considerable number of anti-fascist works of American literature from the period under consideration also contributed to the spiritual renewal and humanistic viewpoint of the people of our republic during its formation and initial reconstruction phase.

In all American studies to date - even those that strive for great objectivity and avoid ideologically conditioned biases - the relationship of the anti-fascist exile authors to the progressive literary and cultural forces in the USA and to the general literary and cultural development of the 1930s and first half of the 1940s is strangely blurred and incomplete. The after-effects of McCarthyism on authors and literary studies alike can certainly still be felt here. Caution, reservations and almost petrified taboos are difficult to overcome, and the current extra-literary constellations and confrontations are probably not exactly conducive to dismantling them either. It seems to me that there is a need to catch up in this particular area of exile literature research - a desideratum with the implication that at least the not inconsiderable facts should first be recorded and processed and that what has been omitted or buried should be brought to light. The following should be investigated

m. In my opinion, the confrontation of the American literary and cultural public with anti-fascist German literature - in a series of questions to be further specified - could also be of interest for the further elucidation of the interaction of national literary and world literary processes. In addition, the institutions, events and publication organs of the period in question should be recorded in their stimulating specificity, which have become a ferment of this development.

I see one of the main concerns of such efforts not least in relativizing, if not questioning altogether, the thesis of the almost complete isolation of anti-fascist German writers in exile in the USA, a thesis which, incidentally, is held equally in both East and West. "Isolation" as a dictum and premise obstructs access to recognizing and evaluating existing interrelationships from the outset or relegates them to an uninteresting or unimportant sidetrack. In many publications, particularly from American authors, "isolation" has almost been declared the universal characteristic of the exiled author in the USA - the market-effective title of a recent and thoroughly informative book expresses this paradigmatically.²

of the Hollywood Writer's Mobilization and the University of California, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1944, p. 5 - Transl. E. B.

² *Anthony Heilbut, Exiled in Paradise. German Refugee Artists and Intellectuals in America, from the 1930s to the Present, New York 1983.*

Of course, it cannot be overlooked that many authors in exile – especially those who were prominent and popular in their home countries of Germany and Austria – consciously or unconsciously promoted this idea through repeated self-statements and that some even maneuvered themselves into this position with a claim to elitism and cultural superiority that was difficult to understand for those willing to help the host country. Some, like Bertolt Brecht, have never really been able – or wanted – to overcome their "culture shock".

However, on closer inspection, even they were not as "isolated" as they often pretended or appeared to be. They were already taken note of by their American colleagues and the cultural public in the United States. Active solidarity and successful attempts to build intellectual bridges were not so rare. It must certainly be admitted that the dimensions were modest compared to the expectations and usual quality standards.

Much has already been written about the handful of top authors in American exile (especially Thomas Mann, Bertolt Brecht and Lion Feuchtwanger), but – although there may still be gaps and necessary additions – the problem field of "German exile literature and authors in the USA" is, in my opinion, much broader if –one considers the The book leaves the "elitist" position, includes the aspect of direct and indirect mass impact and devotes more attention to less prominent authors in particular. Names such as F. C. Weiskopf and Stefan Heym come to mind here, whose anti-fascist works, initially written in English, had a strong impact on the cultural public in the USA. But we should also consider writers who were only temporarily in exile in the United States – such as Friedrich Wolf, Ludwig Renn or Bodo Uhse – but who had a not insignificant interaction with the American literary and cultural scene. Anna Seghers' relationship to contemporary American literary society and the reception of her anti-fascist works in the USA is no less interesting from this point of view. After all, she had come to Mexico via Ellis Island with the help of the "League of American Writers", received regular financial support from the

"Exiled Writers Committee" of the "League" from New York and was one of the most frequently published anti-fascist German authors in the *New Masses* between 1942 and 1944. In December 1944, for example, the article *The Task of Art*, which was so important at the time, appeared in several pages and in a central position, with its theoretical reflections on the function of literature and art in the liberation of German youth from fascist ideology.³ With the first English edition of *The Seventh Cross* in 1942 by the prestigious publishing house Little, Brown & Comp. in Boston and its inclusion in the national Book-of-the-Month Club for October of the same year, this novel finally achieved mass appeal for the first time in a decisive phase of the international anti-fascist struggle. Samuel Sillen stated at the beginning of his detailed book review: "One hardly dares to believe it, but it is a fact that overnight the name of Anna Seghers has received the prominent status it has long enjoyed in this country."⁴

From this general perspective, questions arise for me that, in my opinion, have hardly been raised so far or, if they have, have only been answered in a rather one-sided way: How

³ **Anna Seghers**, *The Task of Art*, in : *New Masses*, December 19, 1944, pp. 9- 11 .

⁴ **Samuel Sillen**, *The Seven Who Fled*, in : *Ebenda*, September 29, 1942, p. 22 - Transl. E. B.

How did American critics and writers perceive and evaluate the anti-fascist German authors and their publications? Which German exile authors received the most attention in American literary criticism (literary publications and press)? What about the reviews of works by German authors in exile in American newspapers and magazines, especially in Marxist-oriented ones such as the *Daily Worker* and *New Masses*, or in left-wing bourgeois ones such as *New Republic*, *Nation*, *Partisan Review* and *Twice a Year*? What significance did the League of American Writers and the American Writers Congresses have for anti-fascist German writers? What is the relationship and commitment of German writers in exile to American national literature? To what extent did German writers in exile (especially the group of active anti-fascist writers) contribute to shaping the political consciousness of the American public and the literary process in the United States? In which specific cases of literary creation can one speak of mutual influence or even collaboration? Is there an influence of anti-fascist German exile literature on the image of Germany and the post-war conception of Germany in contemporary American literature and society? What expectations and ideas about the contribution of exiled authors to the American literary and cultural situation did American writers have?

However, we do not want to leave it at this string of programmatic questions for some aspects of exile literature research, but rather try to substantiate what has been said with the help of at least one example.

In the aforementioned appreciation of Anna Seghers' work, the literary critic Samuel Sillen declared, not without reason : "*The Seventh Cross* raises problems that are closely connected with the further development of anti-fascist literature, and we must face up to them."⁵

The anti-fascist theme may not have occupied the dominant position in American literature in the period 1933/45, but the fact is that it increasingly came into the national spotlight and a considerable number of authors – some of them quite prominent – dealt with it. Names of worldwide renown include Sinclair Lewis, Ernest Hemingway, John Steinbeck, Thomas Wolfe, John Dos Passos, Upton Sinclair, Langston Hughes, Erskine Caldwell, Dorothy Parker, Nathanael West, Archibald MacLeish, Clifford Odets, Lillian Hellman and even Eugene O'Neill, fragments of whose dramas have only recently been made available to the public.⁶

I have already had occasion elsewhere to draw attention to a striking example of the direct impact of the experience, foresight and German position of anti-fascist authors of German-speaking provenance on the American literary process. The experiences described in Karl Billinger's (i.e. Paul W. Massing) novelistic account *Schutzhäftling Nr. 880. Aus einem deutschen KZ* (Paris 1935 ; Moscow 1935 ; New York 1935) had visibly moved the democratically-minded public in the USA in the mid-1930s in the English-language edition of the book (*Fatherland*; also introduced by the world-famous publicist Lincoln Steffens) and were finally published in their extensive processing in Sinclair Lewis' immensely popular anti-fascist novel *It Can't Happen Here* (1935).

⁵ Ibid., p. 23.

⁶ Cf. Virginia Floyd (ed.), *Eugene O'Neill at Work : Newly Released Ideas for Plays*, New York 1981.

published in exile by Querido, Amsterdam, under the title *Das ist bei uns nicht möglich* (1936), also had a mass impact – indirectly, as it were.⁷ Here, however, we will focus primarily on a later period, namely the first half of the 1940s, in particular the years of the anti-Hitler coalition, which were so decisive for the defeat of Hitler's fascism. In my opinion, this period deserves our attention, not least because many literary testimonies by American authors here manifest ideas about Germany and the Germans after the final victory over the fascist armies and the elimination of Nazi tyranny, sometimes subliminally, but sometimes also very directly and openly.

The whole complicated and sometimes passionate and heated debate among exiled authors about the future of Germany and the "essence" or "national character" of the German people could not, of course, pass the anti-fascist committed American authors by without having an effect, especially as a series of extreme – publicly and vehemently debated – "conceptions" by influential politicians and other public figures opened the door to the wildest speculations and irrational fantasies. In this context, the attitude of the *New Masses* seems to me to be of particular importance, as it was a left-wing cultural-political movement that had a recognized broad resonance in the intellectual and cultural life of the USA in the years under consideration. From the very beginning, it was involved in the "hate controversy", but left no doubt that it was necessary to differentiate and that the German people should not be equated with fascism across the board. Even after the fascist invasion of the Soviet Union, this position was not abandoned. An editorial (*The Soviet – Nazi War*) from July 1, 1941 states: "Our hearts beat for the great working class of Germany, the Germany that still exists, those steadfast, highly educated toilers and skilled workers, those people who have to endure this terrible burden, the nightmare of murder and lies that has already lasted eight years . . . this true German people will also be among the winners, for the victory will not only be a Soviet one, but a victory for all mankind."⁸

When Ernest Hemingway suggested in his foreword to the anthology of war stories he edited (*Men at War*) in 1942 that Germany should be "so thoroughly disrupted that we shall never have to wage war against it again for the next hundred years", and he saw the sterilization of all members of the Nazi party and its organizations as the surest guarantee of this⁹, the progressive writer and anti-fascist Spain fighter Alvah Bessie turned sharply against the famous author in the columns of *New Masses*, who was still writing in the literary exile magazine *Das Wort* in 1939.

his sympathy for the "intelligent eastern workers" and other "true, respectable Germans"

had expressed. ¹⁰Bessie accused him of falling for the lies of Goebbels.

⁷ See Eberhard Brüning, Sinclair Lewis als Antifaschist, in: Realismus und literarische Kommunikation. Dedicated to the work of Rita Schober, Sitzungsberichte der AdW der DDR, Gesellschaftswissenschaften 8 G, Berlin 1984, pp. 78–86.

⁸ *The Soviet-Nazi War*, in: *New Masses*, July 1, 1941, p. 3 – Transl. E. B.

⁹ *Men at War*. The Best War Stories of All Time, edited with an Introduction by Ernest Hemingway, New York 1942. The controversial passages are then published in the "reprint edition" of 1955 and the subsequent paperback editions" has been deleted by the author.

¹⁰ Ernest Hemingway, An das wirkliche Deutschland, in: *Das Wort*, H. 2 (February) 1939, p. 4.

who tries every day to equate the German people with fascism.¹¹

It was no coincidence that a week later the same magazine published a detailed article entitled */s There Another Germany?* In it, the author first of all takes a sharp look at the thesis that "militarism and barbarism poison the blood of every German and that this poison has been circulating in the German bloodstream for two thousand years". He directs his polemic against the influential American literary critic and editor of *The New Yorker* Clifton Fadiman as well as against the German emigrant Emil Ludwig, before summarizing:

"We are fighting in alliance with the Germany of freedom against the Germany of despotism, just as we are united with free France against France

Laval's fight . . . By deepening our understanding of the other Germany, which Nazism has stained with blood and desecrated, we will only gain all the more

We should not undertake such an effort, knowing that this is not a war waged to exterminate peoples, but to exterminate the oppressors of peoples."¹² The continuity of such an attitude is expressed in the reviews of the paper. Shortly after the final capitulation of the fascist armies in Europe, Hans Berger (i.e. Gerhart Eisler) postulated in a review of Jürgen Kuczynski's publication *Economic and Labor Conditions under Fascism* (with a foreword by Albert Norden) :

Kuczynski's book should be read above all by those who sense a danger of enslavement of the German workers. The victory of the Allies may mean the suppression of the ruling forces of monopoly capital – at least we can hope so - but for the German workers it can bring nothing other than true liberation."¹³

Only once - shortly before the end of the war - did the *New Masses* make a concession to the hysteria of hatred and extermination along the lines of the slogan "Every German is a bad person".

Only a dead German is a good German!" by reprinting Ilja Ehrenburg's article *Why We Despise Thern*¹⁴, which, with its tirade of hatred against all Germans per se, was in embarrassing agreement with those infamous and controversial

The "concepts" advocated by the British diplomat Vansittart and the American Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau.

Of course, this issue had long since become an international one, and the differing views and controversies about the fate of the German people and the extent of its fascization were forcing more and more literary and cultural circles in the USA to take a stand. In particular, it was a novel by a progressive American playwright, storyteller and film author who, with the ideological, ethical and aesthetic positions expressed in it, had already been providing much material for controversial opinions among German exiled anti-fascists as well as American critics and professional colleagues for a good year. I am referring to the anti-fascist novel *The Cross and the Arrow* by Albert Maltz. After it was published in the second half of 1944 in three different editions (Little, Brown & Comp., Boston; Book Find Club Edition ; Sun Dial

¹¹ *Alvah Bessie, Hemingway Chooses*, in : *New Masses*, November 17, 1942, p. 24f.

¹² *Samuel Sillen, Is There Another Germany?*, in : *Ebenda*, November 24, 1942, p. 23 – Transl. E. B.

¹³ *Hans Berger, Life in Germany*, in : *Ebenda*, May 8, 1945, p. 27 – Transl. E. B.

¹⁴ *Ilya Ehrenburg, Why We Despise Thern*, in : *Ibid*, April 10, 1945.

Edition) with a total number of 68,000 copies, it was also printed in a special edition of the Armed Services Edition of 140,000 copies for American soldiers in Europe by order of the Roosevelt administration. This made it a bestseller, as these are quite remarkable figures for a sophisticated novel that cannot be classified as light fiction by American book market standards. This was followed by an English edition published by a renowned London publisher and rapid translations into Swedish, Spanish, Danish, Norwegian, German, Bulgarian, Dutch and Chinese.¹⁵ After an excerpt had already appeared in German in the magazine *Ost und West* in spring 1947, Dietz Verlag in Berlin published a first edition in 1949, which was later followed by others. The anti-fascist publicist Maximilian Scheer, who had met Albert Maltz himself in exile, wrote an introduction in which he pointed out that this book had been read by hundreds of thousands of Americans at one time,

"since an almost uniform, monotonous, almost synchronized view of Germany prevailed among the American public. 'All Germans are Nazis', 'All Germans are krauts' (a word modified from sauerkraut), 'A good German is a dead German' - that was the prevailing public thesis, tinted in infinite shades, from New York to San Francisco. It was an uncomplicated, primitive, nationalistic, harmful and dangerous thesis."¹⁶ Now, we know that this correct statement by Scheer was by no means the uniform view of German anti-fascists in exile.

Albert Maltz's novel *The Cross and the Arrow* is set in Germany in 1942 and unfolds around the question of the motives behind an act of sabotage committed by a German citizen who had previously been "blameless". A fuse flared up in the night sky. It had been lit with the intention of drawing the attention of British bombers to a well-camouflaged tank factory that had been relocated to Düsseldorf. The perpetrator, Willi Wegler, who was working on the drop hammer, was shot by an SS guard and was in hospital.

The environment searches for the motives behind the death of this worker, who had been awarded the "War Merit Cross" the day before. But only he himself can give the final answer. But he evades interrogation by turning himself in unconscious. At the same time, he gives an account of himself and begins to reflect on the course and meaning of his life to date. Section by section, the entire life of a politically indifferent worker from the Weimar period and the subsequent Hitler dictatorship is laid bare. It is the life of an average German of those times, who was not exactly treated gently by social reality, but whose consciousness changed only slowly. Only gradually do disappointments, humiliations, hardship and suffering in his closest family circle and at work allow a political realization to mature in him, which finally turns into the anti-fascist action so incomprehensible to those around him. The next morning, the devastating bombs fall on the Panz factory. Wegler not only sees his perseverance rewarded, but now also suffers a liberating death, because he believes he has at least paid off a small part of the guilt that weighs on him.

¹⁵ See Eberhard Brüning, *Albert Malz. Ein amerikanischer Arbeiterschriftsteller*, Halle 1956.

¹⁶ Maximilian Scheer, *Der Autor und sein Werk*, in: Albert Maltz, *Das Kreuz und der Pfeil*, transl. by Kurt Wagenseil, Berlin 1949, p. 5.

Immediately after the book was published, the anti-fascist emigrant Curt Riess in the *Chicago Tribune* (September 17, 1944) : "But a book about Germany - even a novel — must stand the test of its ideas. It represents a social fact with consequences for the minds of all those who are exposed to it. Maltz is a counterweight to those who are committed to the annihilation and extermination of all Germans. But for some — and I am one of them — his novelistic plea for an understanding of the German people and for leniency in dealing with them (with reference to the possibility that a number of them are anti-Nazi) must seem quite dangerous in our day."

Riess thus addresses precisely the decisive ideological criterion for the American author's aesthetic standpoint. For Maltz does not direct the entire sharpness and passion of his anti-fascist commitment "against those suffering from the plague, but against the plague itself". For him, the German is not condemnable per se. He clearly distances himself from views such as those he puts into the mouth of the desperate physician Dr. Zoder: "And who are these German monsters — these cannibals who walk like men and look like men, but only know how to shoot bullets from a gun? A few SS men? Don't be childish! *The whole German army* — flesh from the body of the people."¹⁷

In the debate with the cynic and despiser of humanity, the figure of Pastor Frisch — a former concentration camp inmate and now a forced laborer in the armaments factory - finally prevails with his belief¹¹ in the good in man. Instead of babbling about a mystical infection of the German bloodstream, one should ask about the causes of evil, because it is important to understand "*that evil is not new*, that no nation has leased goodness and that evil must be understood. It

does not come from the air and is not blown by the wind — it has its origins in the leap and its growth, its cause and its essence — and it must be understood become."¹⁸

This is certainly a noteworthy observation — and probably the key point for the ♦
The basic idea of the entire novel. Well, one could leave it at that and simply attribute it to the Marxist education and the author's close connection to the most politically conscious forces of the American working class, if there were not another important component that is so relevant to our initial theme. For there is a direct line of reference to anti-fascist German exile literature and its authors living in the USA, not least with regard to this explosive issue, which was so hotly debated in those years.

Albert Maltz demonstrably had close personal contact with F. C. Weiskopf. The German-writing Czech exile author not only advised the American writer on matters of detail, but also looked over the manuscript for *The Cross and the Arrow*. To verify this remarkable cooperation between a German anti-fascist author and an American professional colleague, I may quote from my correspondence with both writers.

F. C. Weiskopf wrote to the author (Berlin, July 20, 1958): „Maltz has spoken out as a

¹¹ Maltz, *The Cross and the Arrow*, p. 407.

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 409.

As an anti-fascist, he had taken a keen interest in German issues since 1933, studied the relevant literature, etc. He used a lot of newspapers, translated books by German anti-fascists, material published by the various committees and material he received from conversations with German anti-Nazis. He was in contact with the well-known exiled writers who were in the USA. I remember several in-depth conversations with him." Albert Maltz wrote to me on October 19, 1953 from Mexico, where he was living in voluntary exile after his conviction and incarceration as a prominent member of the so-called Hollywood Ten and lived in the very same house that housed the Free Germany Committee of German anti-fascists in Mexico during Hitler's reign: "As far as I know, no American writer treated the 'German subject' in the period from 1933 to 1945 from the same point of view as I did in 'The Cross and the Arrow', that is, with an effort at social and human understanding. The novels and plays that appeared on the subject can largely be grouped into two categories : 1) anti-fascist works with a very simplistic position, i.e. Nazism was the enemy and that was all there was to it ; 2) books with a decidedly racist attitude, i.e. the Nazis are Germans, the Germans are constantly driven to wage wars for biological reasons. Simply appalling ! I had no close personal contact with German writers in emigration, at most a more casual and superficial one – for example, I met Feuchtwanger, Mann and others. But there were two exceptions. One was a young German economist who had written a book about his experiences in a concentration camp ... The other was Franz Weiskopf, the Czech writer who writes in German. He was one of those who read through my manuscript." On the occasion of F. C. Weiskopf's death, Maltz once again recalled the friendly cooperation: "I felt very close to him and held him in the highest esteem. It may be of interest to note in this connection that he was one of those who read through the manuscript of 'The Cross and the Arrow' and that he contributed very helpful criticism even while it was being written" (Mexico, October 26, 1955).

Based on the knowledge of this collaboration alone, it should come as no surprise, that the attitudes towards the German people and the anti-fascist resistance in Germany are so similar in Maltz and Weiskopf. Weiskopf's novels *Dawn Breaks* (1942) and *The Firing Squad* (1944), written in exile in America and first published in English, are, moreover, the best evidence of the parallelism and agreement between the two authors' basic positions and concepts. When Weiskopf wrote in the epilogue to the German edition of his novel *Vor einem neuen Tag* in 1943 : "As an anti-fascist, I am clearly aware that one cannot condemn entire peoples as such, call them inferior or evil in every respect. This kind of judgment is left to the followers of chauvinistic racial theories", then direct lines of reference to Maltz's *The Cross and the Arrow* can certainly be established. Moreover, the thematic starting point of the epic events, the transformation, the process of realization and the attempt at redemption of the respective protagonists in *The Firing Squad* and in *The Cross and the Arrow* are strikingly similar. Both novels appeared on the US book market almost simultaneously in 1944. Samuel Sillen therefore explicitly referred to the increased interest in such literature in the USA in his review entitled *Profile of a German Worker* and stated :

Albert Maltz's 'The Cross and the Arrow' is a penetrating study of Hitler's Germany,

which is in good company with such outstanding contemporary books as Franz Weiskopf's 'The Firing Squad' and Bodo Uhse's 'Leutnant Bertram'.¹⁹

How the debate about the German people and their future flared up again towards the end of the war and in the weeks that followed has already been exemplified by a few quotes that are not directly related to this book. But Maltz's Roman also continued to stir literary criticism and public opinion around this time. Hans Berger put it this way in the newspaper *The Worker* on April 15, 1945: "The question

'Is there a German underground movement?' is asked again and again. Disbelief in the existence of a German resistance movement sometimes even takes such forms that, for example, such an excellent book as Albert Maltz's 'The Cross and the Arrow' is criticized because it depicts a German coming to his senses and trying to resist the Nazis." Finally, on May 8, 1945, the *New Masses* published a letter from a wounded American soldier in contrast to a reader's opinion (Dr. Arnold M. Geiger), which considered the "increasing popularity of Albert Maltz's 'The Cross and the Arrow'" to be alarming and described the book as "politically irresponsible": "I now know that as a front-line soldier I was in desperate need of Maltz. For in the heat of many battles I had begun – certainly without wanting to and unconsciously – to reduce the German people to an overall denominator of national perfidy and to concede to them only national suicide. I wish that every man in the struggle could read Maltz's textbook for the future."²⁰ Statements such as these only serve to demonstrate once again how strongly American literature at the time was caught up in the maelstrom of the issues of the day and the immediate political disputes.

However, if we have concentrated primarily on the novel *The Cross and the Arrow* by Albert Maltz in the preceding considerations, then four aspects were mainly decisive for this: Firstly, it is an unusually massively effective book of US literature on anti-fascist themes, which was translated into sixteen foreign languages and was even republished in an American paperback edition in 1962. A letter from Piraeus (Greece), which reached Albert Maltz at the end of 1965, also stands for the "long-term effect": "We are two former political prisoners who were incarcerated for over eighteen years because of our anti-fascist principles. Now we have been released and are finally free. By chance, your book 'The Cross and the Arrow' came into our hands in the last year of our stay in prison. An English friend had sent it to us. We read it, and of course we liked it very much because most of its content touched us so directly. And we would like not only to express our esteem for it, but also to thank you for the pleasant hours it has given us. It is precisely for this reason that we have decided to translate it into our own language,

i.e. into Greek - and we have now completed this. We are both of the opinion that your book should be made accessible to a wider circle of our people and that is why we are writing to you to ask for permission to publish it."²¹

¹⁹ Samuel Sillen, Profile of a German Worker, in: *New Masses*, October 3, 1944, p. 23. E. B.; cf. also *the same*, Inside a Nazi (review of F. C. Weiskopf's "The Firing Squad"), in *Ebenda*, July 18, 1944.

²⁰ *Readers' Forum*, in: *Ebenda*, May 8, 1945, p. 22 – Transl. E. B.

²¹ Nikos Damigos and Dimitrios Kanelopoulos to Albert Maltz, Piraeus, 24.12.1965.

Secondly, this novel expressed a differentiating attitude towards the German people and an appreciation of the anti-fascist resistance in Germany, which, although at odds with the prevailing public opinion at the time, was in line with the positions of the national and international revolutionary workers' movement. In the dispute of opinions on the question "Is there another Germany?" - both among German anti-fascists in exile and in the intellectual circles of the anti-Nazi forces in the USA – the novel played a central role, so that it could become a crystallization point in the determination of positions for literary producers and recipients alike.

Thirdly, this is a revealing and powerful example of a fruitful and fundamental collaboration between anti-fascist German exile authors and progressive American writers, i.e. in particular a direct influence of exile literature on a certain phase of the literary process in another country.

Fourthly and finally, Albert Maltz's novel made a notable contribution to the intellectual and cultural renewal in post-war Germany on a democratic-antifascist basis and provided food for thought and guidance in the humanistic self-discovery and socialist consciousness-raising of the GDR's emerging readership.

The youth and student movement in the anti-fascist struggle 1933-1945

When Hitler seized power on behalf of the monopolies on January 30, 1933, the German people found themselves threatened by a wave of terror and arrests that grew daily. The Reichstag fire on the night of 27/28 February 1933, organized by the Nazis, was the signal for a general attack on German workers to destroy all dissenters. Many emigrated not only to save their lives, but also to save German culture. According to a report by the Paris Prefecture of Police, 7195 refugees arrived from Germany between October 20 and November 7, 1933, including 425 artists, 424 members of the liberal professions and 904 intellectuals, including 734 students. The head of the League of Nations Commission for Refugees from Germany estimated that around 100,000 Germans had emigrated by the end of 1935.¹

The first "European Anti-Fascist Workers' Congress" with 3,500 delegates from many countries, including 120 German anti-fascists, took place from June 4 to 6, 1933 in the large Pleyel Hall in Paris. On August 20, 1933, the "World Committee against War and Fascism" was founded in Paris with the French writer and peace fighter Henri Barbusse at its head. With the help of the World Committee, the "World Congress of Youth against War and Fascism" was held in Paris from September 22 to 25, 1933, with 1,098 delegates from over 40 countries, young communists as well as Christian and bourgeois representatives. Creating a broad front of world youth in the fight against war and fascism" was the main theme, on which Artur Becker also spoke. The World Youth Congress thus paved the way for an international anti-fascist youth and student movement. A World Youth Committee was formed, to which the communist functionaries Artur Becker and Hans Marum belonged. The emigrated young people gathered in the three youth organizations: *KN*, *SN* and SAJ (Communist Youth Association, Socialist Youth Association and Socialist Workers' Youth). From the outset, the aim of the consultations was to facilitate a joint approach.

Around this time, I arrived in Paris at the age of 28. Despite persecution, I had managed to enter France via the Saar region. I immediately began to devote myself to anti-fascist youth work, using my experience from more than ten years of activity in the progressive left-wing German youth movement. My name came up

¹ *Les barbeles de l'Exil, Etudes sur l'emigration allemande et autrichienne (1938-1940)*, Grenoble 1940, pp. 15, 18-21 ; Karl Obermann, *Zur antifaschistischen Geschichtsschreibung im Exil*, in : *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Gesellschaftswiss. R. XXXIII*, 1984, No. 3, p. 321.

therefore also appeared in a list of "the most active combatants of the Free German Youth in Paris".²

The growth of the youth organizations in 1934 made it necessary to exchange ideas and discuss problems and tasks. Information sheets were necessary for this. Although there was a lack of financial resources, a hectographed "International Youth Bulletin" appeared in German from 1 May 1934, published by the International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations, secretariat: Kurt Forsland, Stockholm. The articles were mostly written by functionaries of the SJV and the KJV and signed with an assumed name. In the first issue, May 1934, a report appeared on a "Lille Conference of Revolutionary Youth Organizations" in February 1934. It also states that an "International Conference" was held in Laren near Amsterdam on 24, 27 and 28 February with representatives of the Socialist Youth Association (SVJ) of Holland and Germany. Issue 2, June 1 934, reports on a "Congress of the Norwegian Workers' Youth Association" from May 11 to 13 in Oslo, which counted 20,000 members. The third issue, July/August 1934, reports on the "Third Socialist Youth Meeting" from 3 to 5 August 1934 in Liège, as well as on an "Office Meeting of the International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations" in mid-August. The topic of the student movement was on the agenda. The ranks of the students in exile also showed a determination not to stand on the sidelines, but to fight with all their might.

to take part in the fight against war and fascism and for the protection of the German science and culture.³

The "World Student Congress against War, Fascism and Cultural Reaction", which took place in Brussels from December 29 to 31, 1934, paved the way for the unification and cooperation of anti-fascist students. In the report on it from January 8, 1935 in the exile weekly newspaper "Der Gegen-Angriff" (Prague – Paris) under the headline "Students in struggle. The World Congress of Students against War and Fascism" states: "Over 400 delegates from all countries met. The congress was prepared and conducted by socialist and pacifist organizations, Christian associations, groups of the League of Nations, communist student groups and many others. A broad stream of organizations led to this congress. In recent times, students have played an increasingly active role in the general anti-fascist movement." The welcoming letter from Russian students expressed the expectation that the congress would be "a great success in the struggle against war and fascism, in the mobilization of new masses against the powers of the past and the authors of war". The main speeches dealt with: "Firstly, the situation and role of students in social life; secondly, the student body, fascism and war; thirdly, the teaching profession and the cultural crisis."

Particular highlights were described as "the speeches of a German student, who, himself a member of the National Socialist student body, became a convinced anti-fascist through his experiences under the Hitler dictatorship, and the representative of the Spanish delegation", as well as the appearance of a delegation of young workers from Paris, who declared "that

² *Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, Chronik, Teil II, Berlin 1966, pp. 324, 327, 330; Karl Obermann, *Exile Paris (1933–1939)*, Berlin 1984, pp. 1–8; *Exile in France, 1933–1945*, vol. 7 Leipzig 1981, pp. 70–71.

³ *International Youth Bulletin*, published by the International Bureau of Revolutionary Youth Organizations, Stockholm, vol. 1, May 1934, no. 1, pp. 1–7; June 1934, no. 2, pp. 4–6; July 1934, August 1934, no. 3, pp. 4–11,

in: Deutsche Bibliothek, Abteilung IX, Exil-Literatur, Signatur EB K 6, 347, Frankfurt/Main.

the students' struggle can only be successful in the closest connection with the only class that is progressing to the end, the working class".

The concluding paragraph of the report notes: "The congress adopted a *proclamation* on the rights of student youth and a *program of action* against war and fascism. The election of the World Student Committee, consisting of representatives from all countries and organizations, creates the conditions for the congress to act as a prelude to the mass struggle of student youth against fascism and war and for a socialist future."⁴

The creation of student committees and a world student committee, which included representatives from numerous countries, was an extremely important step towards mobilizing anti-fascist students and promoting cooperation between youth associations and student organizations. One of the most important tasks was to organize and hold world youth and student congresses. From October 1935, the "Weltjugendkurier" was published monthly in German, French and English with the subtitle "Bulletin of the Organizing Office of a World Youth Meeting". Artur Becker, known as Atze, was in charge of the office and the editorial office. I joined the editorial team in December 1935, and we quickly developed a friendly relationship, as we were both born in the Rhineland in 1905.⁵ In the third issue

of the "Weltjugendkurier", December 1935, an appeal was published by Andre Victor, Secretary of the Committee of the World Student Movement for Peace, Freedom and Culture. It reads: "The intellectual youth enthusiastically welcomes the initiative of uniting all youth forces for the preservation of peace. We believe that it is more than ever necessary to seriously confront the points of view of the various youth organizations fighting for peace and to study together the best methods to achieve peace.

to effectively place the evil of mankind, war, outside the law.

At a meeting of its international secretariat (22–23 November), attended by representatives of France, England, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Czechoslovakia and Romania, the World Student Movement decided to intervene in this sense with all international student and youth organizations."⁶

In number 4 of the Weltjugendkurier, January 1936, an unsigned article appeared with the headline "Every University – A Fortress of Peace". The World Student Committee for Peace, Freedom and Culture announced: "The intellectual youth is an important factor in the formation of public opinion. Thus, students contribute greatly to mobilizing and strengthening all forces for peace by working on their coordination and mobilizing the public in this sense. In a number of the most important countries, the majority of organized students have indeed spoken out in defence of peace.

In England, for example, 'peace councils' have been set up in all the universities, bringing together a wide variety of organizations..... In the United States the huge student movement, which brings together eleven large organizations in a peace committee, after the large peace demonstrations of 15 April (150,000) and of November 11, 1935 (500,000) with a Campaign 'against the militarization of student youth ...

⁴ *DerGegen-Angriff*, Prague–Paris, No. 2, January 8, 1935.

⁵ *Obermann*, Exile Paris, p. 28.

⁶ Third issue of *Weltjugendkurier*, Paris, December 1935, p. 6.

At the Prague Congress (June 1935), 48 student organizations in Czechoslovakia decided to create a powerful student front for peace, progress and freedom. . ."⁷

When fascist Italy invaded the independent African state of Ethiopia on 3 October 1935, the Committee of the World Student Movement for Peace, Freedom and Culture and three international pacifist organizations immediately called for an international youth conference in Brussels from 29 February to 1 March 1936, i.e. a mass rally of world youth against war and fascism.

This conference in Brussels, with 300 delegates and 61 observers from 248 organizations from 23 countries and 29 international organizations, represented a major step forward on the path of cooperation between youth organizations in European and non-European countries. Andre Victor was a member of the Conference Bureau. Points 6 and 7 of the resolutions stipulated : "The Bureau of the Conference resolves to maintain and develop the links established at the Conference. ."

Already during the preparations for the World Youth Congress in Geneva from August 31 to On September 6, 1936, young people in all countries were to unite for major peace actions.⁸

In June 1936, the World Youth Courier published my article "Youth and the International Situation", which I concluded with the words: "There is no time to lose. The Geneva World Youth Congress is the congress of all youth, at which it must publicly prove whether it is willing and able to work together for peace. All forces must contribute to ensuring that the peace front of the youth proves to be an unshakeable bulwark in Geneva."⁹

On July 15, 1936, the International Bureau of the World Youth Movement met in Paris. The representatives of student organizations from 13 countries elected the international delegation of the World Student Movement to the Geneva Congress.¹⁰

From August 31 to September 6, the World Youth Congress met in Geneva with around 700 delegates from 35 countries. The Spanish youth delegation, which also included the young Catholic writer Jose Bergamin, was greeted enthusiastically by everyone. The German anti-fascist youth delegation included Artur Becker, Robert Lehmann and myself. Everyone involved was convinced: "The cooperation and unification of the forces of youth is of immense importance. If there is close cooperation between young people on an international scale, there will be little chance of an attack by fascism. We expect a great deal from such cooperation and hope that it will make our task easier."¹¹

The World Youth Congress spurred on the anti-fascist youth and student organization work. At the end of 1936, I took on the role of German representative

⁷ Fourth issue of the *Weltjugendkurier*, January 1936, p. 8.

⁸ Sixth issue of *Weltjugendkurier*, March 1936, supplement; *Karl Obermann*, (report) „Die Jugend für den Frieden“, in : *Pariser Tageblatt*, March 6, 1936 ; also in : *Wochenzeitung für Tat und Freiheit*, 2nd vol. 1936, no. 14, p. 4: "World Youth for Peace. After the conference in Brussels, preparations for the World Youth Meeting in Geneva"; *Obermann*, *Exile Paris*, p. 29.

⁹ Eighth issue of the *Weltjugendkurier*, June 1936, p. 11.

¹⁰ Ninth issue of the *Weltjugendkurier*, July 1936, p. 15.

¹¹ *Karl Obermann*, Spain's youth in Geneva, in: Eleventh issue of "Weltjugendkurier", October 1936, p. 8: *History of the German Labor Movement*, Chronicle, Part II, p. 369.

to work on the World Student Committee. The main task was to prepare an international student conference in Paris from August 15 to 19, 1939. The left-wing American student representative Helen Simon was an excellent collaborator.

In August 1938, a second "International Youth Congress for Peace and the Fight against Fascism" took place in New York, at which Erich Jungmann from the KJV leadership represented the anti-fascist German youth. I was one of those who were given the task of compiling a "material of about 50 pages", "in which it was revealed how in Nazi Germany the growing youth was systematically educated in the spirit of chauvinism, incitement of nations and racial hatred through schools, the press, radio and fascist youth organizations". The staff included

Stephan Hermlin, Roman Rubinstein, Fritz Nickolay, among others.¹²

I then drew up three memoranda for the International Student Conference, which were distributed at the conference in French and English translation. The year 1939 had great significance as the 50th anniversary of the French Revolution. Therefore, my first topic was "The French Revolution and the freedom movement of the German students". The 2nd and 3rd topics dealt with the present and the Nazi policy of oppression respectively: "Culture and universities under the Nazi dictatorship" and "The fight against fascism at German universities". In a short presentation, I explained and expanded on these two topics, which played an important role in the discussion.

The rushing political events already¹ overshadowed August 19, the last day of the International Student Conference. L'Humanite was banned on August 23, and it was no longer possible to evaluate the International Student Congress in the press. The increasing danger of war caused the English and foreign participants to leave as quickly as possible. The International Student Congress slowly disbanded. The American Helen Simon returned to New York immediately, but took a number of my memoranda translated into English with her and distributed them among the American students. The Englishwoman who was currently in the chair also left Paris as quickly as possible, as did several others. As a result of internment on

September 1, I was unable to continue my work as a German representative. When I was released from the Marolles internment camp in December due to illness and returned to Paris, I immediately went to the office of the World Student Committee. The French secretary was on her own and was busy closing the office. We talked politics. The secretary carefully pulled out some copies of the illegal L'Humanite hidden in her bosom and handed me a few numbers.¹⁴

Although the well-established and active international student center had to be dissolved due to the situation created by Nazism and fascism in Europe, the anti-fascist students did not give up the fight. Although 2¹/₂ eventful, un-

¹² Franz Dahlem, *Am Vorabend des zweiten Weltkrieges 1938 bis 1939. Erinnerungen*, vol. 1, Berlin 1977, S. 218.

¹³ Obermann, *Exile Paris*, p. 40. Deutsche Blätter, Moscow, published the article on the French Revolution and its significance in July 1939, reprinted in: *Aufbau*, Berlin, July 1946, pp. 687-701.

¹⁴ Cf. Karl Obermann, *Begegnungen mit Johannes Wüsten im Internierungslager Marolles 1939*, in: *Johannes-Wüsten-Symposium*, Görlitz 1976, October 2, Schriftenreihe des Ratsarchivs der Stadt Görlitz, vol. 9, pp. 81-87.

The years that followed were pleasant ones, which for me meant Vernet concentration camp, Les Milles emigration camp, forced detention or internment in Morocco, but finally, after arriving in New York at the end of August 1941, opportunities arose again for the development of an international anti-fascist student movement. The immediate cooperation between the anti-fascist emigrants and the progressive German-Americans in the German American Emergency Conference made it possible to found a monthly, later semi-monthly newspaper with reports and articles in German, but also in English, which soon gained recognition as a central organ in the anti-fascist struggle. Already in the second issue, the June 1 1942 issue, "The German American" announced the founding of the Anti-Nazi German American Students Committee, which had the office of the German American Emergency Conference at its disposal. At Columbia University, the International Students Service, the National Student Federation of America, and the Student League organized a conference on the role of students in the war.¹⁵ In August 1942, the Anti-Nazi German American Students Committee published a program to oppose fascist activity in schools and to work democratically with all German Americans.¹⁶

This was where the first beginnings of an anti-fascist student movement emerged. However, the "International Students Assembly" held in Washington, the capital of the USA, from September 2 to 5, 1942, was of decisive importance for this. The suggestion and initiative had come from the United States Committee of the International Student Service. The

I. S. S. was founded in Geneva in 1920 as a student aid organization and also had branches in other countries. It was banned in Nazi Germany in 1933. The I. S. S. endeavored to help the victims of fascism, later especially the students among the prisoners of war.

The International Student Assembly with around 350 participants from 55 countries was an impressive rally of student youth against fascism and war and for unconditional commitment in the fight for peace and freedom. The speeches and contributions to the discussion focused on the idea of the "people's war for freedom", the "ending of the period of imperialism" and the "realization of a people's century" in order to eliminate everything that could cause differences and tensions between peoples. Everyone was particularly interested in talking to the three-member Soviet delegation led by Nikolai Krasavchenko from the Moscow Youth League. The German anti-fascist delegation, of which I was a member, was also of great interest, as were the delegates from the German-American Student Committee and students from various colleges and universities. There was a prolonged rally of applause when the German delegation signed the appeal addressed to the youth of the world, "We hereby unanimously declare our readiness to lead the struggle to the complete destruction of fascism, whose philosophy we regard as destructive of the best expressions of humanity". The unanimous decision to continue the "International Students Assembly" as an important basis for the cooperation of the student youth of all countries to win this war against fascism and to solve the post-war problems concluded the conference.

¹⁵ *The German American*, vol. I, No. 2, June 1942, p. 11 ; *ibid.*, No. 3, July 1942, p. 12.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 4, August 1 1942, p. 12.

The anti-fascist German delegation also had a seat and vote on the leading committee. The meeting in Washington provided a strong impetus. The Soviet delegation's continued stay in New York, the discussions and conversations with German-American organizations, including at the office of the "German American Emergency Committee", were very stimulating. On the youth page of the October issue of the *German American*, "The Voice of the German American Youth", published a report entitled "Youth of all Nations Rallying against Hitler" with the subtitle "A Free German Delegates Report from the International Students Assembly", which is introduced with the words: "When students from almost every country in the world meet in the capital of a nation to discuss their common problems, that is news, but when an assembly of this kind causes so much excitement in the headquarters of the Axis powers, which make an unusual amount of hysterical comment about the assembly, well, that is something to rejoice about." The article makes special reference to the oppressed peoples of Europe, to young Germans, Austrians, Italians, Czechoslovaks, Yugoslavs.

There is no doubt that the International Student Assembly generated a huge response, not least thanks to the extensive media coverage. Students fighting against Fascism" is the title of my article translated into English. The last sentence reads: "The International Students Assembly is the beginning of international cooperation between the youth of all countries in the re-establishment of a new free world".

In "The German American" there were now almost constantly smaller or larger reports on the activities of the German-American Anti-Nazi Student Committee. The June issue reported that the Committee had sent two members to the "Win the War Students Conference" held by the United States Students Assembly in New York from May 7-9, 1943. On May 10, 1943, the tenth anniversary of the book burning in Nazi Germany, the anti-Nazi German and German-American students of the International Students Assembly addressed their fellow German students in the Third Reich in a radio broadcast. Under a large headline

Students Broadcast to Germany", an excerpt translated into English appeared in the June issue of "German American" with the introductory statement "written by Anti-Nazi German students in America". I was one of them. I found a copy of the text I had drafted in my document collection. It says: "It has been ten years since German students set fire to funeral pyres in every city in Germany. Books by German poets of freedom, outstanding German scientists, including numerous Nobel Prize winners, were consigned to the fire ... From the burning of books on May 10, 1933, a direct path leads to the battlefields of Russia and North Africa,

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 6, October 1942, p. 15 ; *Program booklet International Students Assembly, September 2-5, 1942, Washington D. C. 1942, 14 pages ; Pamphlet Declaration of International Students Assembly, published by the International Student Service, New York 1942, 4 pages.*

¹⁸ *Karl Obermann, Der Internationale Studentenkongreß, in : Freies Deutschland, Mexico, 2, 1942, p. 32. Under the heading "The Example of the Students", a complete reprint of my article appeared in Buenos Aires, the capital of Argentina, in the German-language magazine Volksblatt, Buenos Aires, vol. II, No. 21, February 15, 1943, p. 5 f.; The German American, New York, vol. II, No. 1, May 1943, p. 15.*

to the battlefields of this war ... But the spirit that was to be destroyed by the flames of May 10 lives ... We salute the students, wherever they may fight on the freedom front, as fighters for a new, free world ... However, we German anti-fascist students in emigration have one great concern: the acceleration of the defeat of Hitler and Nazism ... Every day that the Nazi hordes rule Europe for longer means more atrocities, more human sacrifices ... The quickest way to the decisive blow is the second front in Western Europe." Signature : "Free German Students Delegation of the I. S. A."

During their stay in New York, the Soviet student delegation had established friendly relations with the German-American students and encouraged them. In a farewell letter, Krasavchenko called out to them: "Friends . . All freedom-loving peoples must do their utmost to open the second front as soon as possible. . . Forward friends. Fear no difficulties. . . you are fighting for the freedom of the German people and for their freedom from slavery and humiliation."²⁰

The period from September 1942 to the beginning of 1944 was a period of increasing activity in the international anti-fascist student movement, a decisive phase of growth and development. It cannot be overlooked that the Soviet student delegation played a considerable part in this, based on its experience, by providing important impulses and suggestions. But reports about the situation at the universities in Nazi Germany and the persecution of students also prompted the anti-Nazi German and German-American student groups in particular to become more active. Student work took on a considerable position in the anti-fascist struggle and reached a considerable scale.

The Anti-Nazi German Delegation²¹ of the International Students Assembly organized an event in New York at the end of May 1943 to commemorate the book burning of May 1933. Sonja Grodka, chair of the anti-Nazi delegation, gave the opening speech. Members of the delegation performed a short play "They burned the books", then the Moorsoldatenlied and other battle songs were sung. The Russian and French student delegations were represented by their chairpersons.²² Under the heading "Successful Activities of the German American Anti-Nazi Students Committee", articles appeared in December 1943, listing some of the activities and mentioning in particular that various high schools and colleges were interested in the exhibition "Allies inside Germany" and in articles about Germany.

In the activities of the anti-Nazi students, the "International Student Day" has also played an important role since 1942 as a day of struggle²³ by anti-fascist students for the reconquest of freedom. The radio message of November 17, 1942 states :

"We German students in the International Student Assembly send you this message on the day which has been declared International Students' Day in memory of the 160 Prague students who were murdered by the Nazis in 1939 because they stood up for the freedom and independence of their country. In the spirit of these murdered Prague students

¹⁹ *The German American*, vol. II, No. 1, May 1943, p. 15; *ibid.*, No. 2, June 1943, pp. 15 and 16.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. I, no. 7, November 1942, p. 15, letter in English.

²¹ Cf. *Karl Obermann*, Students fighting against Fascism, in: *Ebenda*, vol. II, No. 1, May 1943, p. 15.

²² *The German American*, vol. II, No. 3, July 1943, p. 15, *The Voice of the Youth*.

²³ *Ibid.*, No. 8, December 1943, p. 15.

dents, we call on you to fight with us for the liberation of our German people from Nazi rule. Then the day will not be far off when Germany regains its reputation as the land of poets and thinkers."²⁴

When I drafted the manuscript for the radio broadcast to the students of the Hitler Reich on November 17, 1943, the 4th International Student Day, the political situation had become extremely tense, i.e. the world war unleashed by the Nazis was spreading throughout Europe. The oppression had taken on considerable proportions. In the introduction, I stated that "the determined unity of all freedom-loving students" was necessary and briefly mentioned how I myself had fared in 1933 during my anti-fascist activities. The last page of the manuscript contained necessary references, "that thousands and thousands of Germans are still languishing in concentration camps today", but that "the true German spirit is not dead, that it is suppressed and suffers under the pressure . . . today it is really no longer enough just to speak of being against spiritual oppression and against this war. Has not the time come today that answers can no longer be given in words? The future of Germany, the future of science in Germany depends on you German students, who love science and study, standing up for the protection of this study."²⁵

However, the increasing aggravation of the political situation in 1943 also required the German anti-fascists in exile in the USA engaged in major political activities or political commitment. This applied not least to German and German-American anti-Nazi students.

In March 1944, No. 1 of the "Free German Students Bulletin" appeared with the subtitle "Information-Bulletin of the Free German Students Delegation of the I. S. A." On the first page under the heading "Our Purpose" it is stated: "The Free German Students Delegation to the International Student Assembly (Assembly) seeks with this bulletin to provide a platform for all anti-fascist students in the United States who are willing to fight against Nazism for a free Germany in a free world. This bulletin is to be our weapon." In a letter of greeting and recognition from Thomas Mann, the final sentence reads: "It is, however, an honor and a pleasure to join the advisory commission of your free German student group." In another undated circular, the support of the "Free German Students Bulletin" is requested: "Free German Students Bulletin". It goes on to say: "Our delegation is currently working on the preparation of a memorandum for the upcoming International Students Assembly Conference. This conference will deal with the topic 'Educational Reconstruction' and is launched on May 5-7, 1944.

take place . . ."²⁶ A report on this meeting of the I. S. A. was published in English.²⁷ It is a literal translation of my German transcript or the article.

²⁴ I was involved in the preparation of this radio message, and I still have the 2½ typewritten pages of the manuscript.

²⁵ 3 pages manuscript, copy in my possession.

²⁶ In a footnote, my home address is given as the contact point for contributions and correspondence, probably because the office of the "German American Emergency Conference", which was also the office of the German American Anti Nazi Students Committee, Broadway, Room 409, New City, was already too crowded. The circulars mentioned are written in English.

²⁷ Cf. *The German American*, vol. III, No. 3, June 1, 1944, p. 10.

Here it says : "In the days from May 5-7, 1944, an international student congress took place in New York. American, Soviet Russian, Chinese, Czech, Dutch, Belgian, Polish, Greek and free German students came together to discuss the question of education after the war. There was a unanimous conviction that educational issues would play an important role in post-war reconstruction. . . The free German delegation briefly outlined the main points of its memorandum : The eradication of fascist ideology, especially its most dangerous component: racial ideology, and the development of an education based on the principles of equality, social responsibility and free thinking, which will once again educate thinking people who are aware of their social obligations towards other people and other nations. . ." One of the resolutions emphasized that "the existence and progress of education and of culture as a whole depends on the swiftest destruction of Hitler's Germany, the bastion of barbarism".

The International Student Congress in Washington from September 2 to 5, 1942 was a powerful rally of student youth against war and fascism, whose resolution to initiate cooperation among student youth of all countries in the 1st S. A. must be regarded as a noteworthy result. The international 1st S. A. congress from May 5 to 7, 1944 in New York dealt with concrete tasks and made it clear that rallies were no longer sufficient, but that political work had to be done. The political resolutions ultimately also had an impact on the actions of the "Free German Student Delegation".

The "Free Germany" committee founded in the Soviet Union on July 12/13, 1943 and the manifesto of the "National Committee for a Free Germany" were of great international importance and impact. The German American published the complete text in its 1943 edition. The reprint began on the first page: „Deut sche, Events demand of us an immediate solution. The National Committee for a Free Germany' was formed at a time when mortal danger hovers over our country and threatens its existence. The National Committee is made up of workers and writers, soldiers and officers, trade unionists and political figures, people with the most diverse political views and convictions, who would have considered such an association impossible just a year ago.

The National Committee expresses the thoughts and wishes of millions of Germans at the front and in the rear who are concerned about the fate of their homeland. The National Committee has the right and the duty to speak on behalf of the German people in this difficult hour, to speak clearly and decisively, as the gravity of the present moment demands. "28

The report begins on the first page of the September issue with the large bold headline "German American Hail the National Committee 'Free Germany'" and continues with the article "How the 'National Committee' came into being" by Erich Weichert, President of the National Committee, and further articles on the subject of the manifesto on pages 6 and 7. In the October issue of the "German American", the death of Kurt Rosenfeld takes up several pages, but the National Committee also finds space

²⁸ The print of the manifesto took up 2 columns of page 5 with further continuations on pages 8, 10 and 12 .

The December issue of *e* also contains articles on pages 1 and 5 about the National Committee "Free Germany". It can be assumed that this was particularly well received by younger readers. The "National Committee Free Germany" in Moscow encouraged anti-fascists in other countries in exile, in England, the USA and Mexico, to also wage their struggle under the banner of "Free Germany".

In the columns of the "German American", the topic "National Committee Free Germany" appeared again and again. "New news about the activities of the 'National Committee Free Germany'" was the bold headline on page 16 of the February 1944 issue.³⁰ The *German American*, vol. III, appeared every 14 days from May 1, 1944.

The *German American* May 1 carried an article on page 8 by the secretary of the "Latin American Committee Free Germany", Paul Merker. Here it says: "The Free Germany movement has grown in 1943. In addition to the national committee in Moscow, committees in England, Sweden and 14 countries in Central and South America are now leading the fight against Nazism. In the United States of North America, a Free Germany Committee is in preparation ... The Free Germany Movement has thus become the leading force of German anti-Nazis in Germany and in emigration. . ."

But in the USA, the term "Free Germany" was not desired for political reasons. But on page 3 of the May 15, 1944 issue of the "German American" we read: "Council for a Democratic Germany" was founded. German emigrants, enemies of Nazism, supporters of a democratic Germany, join forces. The following remark follows: On Wednesday, May 3, the following declaration was submitted to the New York press for publication. At the head of the signatories is Prof. Paul Tillich. My name was also on the list of signatories to the statement. As a member of the Council, I participated in the work of the Commission on Education. Given my relationship with the "Free German Student Delegation", it was quite understandable that I was asked to give a few pointers on how to deal with the subject.

"post-war education" and my report on the conference of the I. S. A. from 5. to 7 May contained the relevant aspects, which were also discussed in the Council Commission. "Education and upbringing" were dealt with. In addition, the Council's group of sponsors, which included many professors, maintained contact with the Commission Education and Training" of the Council. The Council proved to be a platform for cooperation. ³¹

²⁹ *The German American*, vol. II, No. 4, August 1943, pp. 1, 5, 8, 10 and 12; *ibid.*, No. 5, September 1943, pp. 1, 5 and 7; *ibid.*, No. 6, October 1943, p. 5; *ibid.*, No. 8, December 1943, pp. 1 and 5.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 10, February 1944, p. 16.

³¹ *Ibid.*, vol. III, No. 1, May 1, 1944, p. 8. Another article appeared on page 16 entitled "New actions and successes of the 'National Committee Free Germany'". It points out that the National Committee saved the lives of 20,000 German soldiers on the Soviet front after the liquidation of the Korbsum cauldron.

³² *Ibid.*, No. 2, May 15, 1944, pp. 3 and 4; *ibid.*, No. 3, June 1, 1944, pp. 3, 8 and 10; *ibid.*, No. 4, June 15, 1944, pp. 1, 8 and 11, (p. 3): "To the German people. Appeal of the Council for a Democratic Germany". The American public welcomes the Council for a Democratic Germany; *ibid.*, No. 5, July 1, 1944, p. 12, "Stimmen zum 'Council for a Democratic Germany'". Cf. *Karl Obermann*, Role and significance of the Historiography in anti-fascist journalism in exile from 1933 to 1946, in: *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Gesellschaftswiss. Reihe XXXIII*, 1984, 3, p. 33 1; *Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, Chronik, Teil II, p. 482.

The political events increasingly occupied the representatives of progress and democracy, even among the German American anti-Nazi students. More extensive fundamental articles filled the pages of the "German American". The upcoming elections in November 1944, in which the re-election of President Roosevelt was also at stake, prompted the "German American" on September 15, 1944 to publish the main headline "The vote of the German Americans" and the statement "The German American to sponsor Forum on Election Issues".³³

Of course, this German-American campaign also affected the German American anti-Nazi students to a large extent.

But in my opinion it also had to be taken into account that the anti-fascist German students living in exile in the USA had another task. Among my papers I found my draft on "The Tasks of the German Delegation of the I. S. A." Here it says: "A German delegation of the I. S. A., i.e. a group of students of German origin, which is prepared to fight in the international student movement together with the students of the United and Oppressed Nations for the destruction of fascism and to participate in the building of a new free world, must start in its work from the conditions which have been created by the destruction of free science and education, the destruction of a free student movement in Germany by fascism. These are conditions that place particularly difficult demands on us. The news that has reached us through various channels indicates to us students who have emigrated from Germany that there is a need right now for a group of German anti-fascist students to work abroad within the framework of the international student movement." Our efforts went in this direction. Although I represented the anti-Nazi German student delegation, I was very busy with editorial and journalistic work. The anti-Nazi German student Sonja Grodka, who had already been there in Washington, took over some of the work.

In November 1944 and in the following months, as the end of the world war approached and with it the end of the Nazi regime, there were more and more discussions. There were different political opinions and differences with regard to further developments and the future. The anti-Nazi German students were considered to be on the left. Different political opinions and aspirations impaired international cooperation. The situation was often unclear. On

On April 15, 1945, it was reported that the First U.S. Army had taken Halle. On April 19, it was reported that the First U.S. Army had marched into Leipzig. On May 5, the Press notes that the German resistance is over. About the achievements of the Soviet There is hardly any mention of troops; there is only talk of occupation. With the

In the wake of the coming contradictions, which became apparent in the reporting, there was a certain loosening up in the international anti-fascist student work, especially as the German anti-fascists also began to yearn to return to their old homeland and take part in the reconstruction. The international cooperation of the anti-fascists did not break down completely. The International Student Council, which had been founded by anti-fascist European students in London in 1941, constantly maintained international contacts.

³³ *The German American*, vol. III, No. 10, September 15, 1944, p. 1; *ibid.*, No. 11, October 1, 1944, p. 1, For Re-Election of President Roosevelt. German Americans form Independent Voters Committee. (See also election in the next two issues).

³⁴ *New York Times*, New York, current short reports with dates 1945/1946.

tional relations. November 17, the day on which the Nazis deported 1 200 students in Prague in 1939 and murdered many of them, was of particular significance and went down in history as "International Student Day", a day of remembrance and commemoration that constantly reminds students of all countries to understand each other and to stand up for peace and the happiness of all peoples. Every year until his death, President Roosevelt addressed the students in a radio speech, and we German students in exile in the USA followed his example. The "International Student Day" was the link to connect the old student relationships with new ones. At a meeting on 11 and 12 November 1945, the International Student Council discussed the need to create an international student organization and to form an International Preparatory Committee for this purpose. The committee fulfilled its task, and on August 26, 1946, the founding congress of the IUS (International Union of Students) was held in Prague with representatives from 38 countries. One day later, the constitution was adopted. The introduction reads : "We, the students of the world, reaffirm our will to build a better world that desires freedom, peace and progress. . ." ³⁵

³⁵ *This is the IUS*. 1949 International Union of Students, New York, pp. 8- 11 .

Brecht in the salons of Hollywood

Conversations of German emigrants during the war years

The Californian area between the port of San Pedro and Los Angeles with the job metropolis of Hollywood felt like a ghetto to most German emigrants. It was here that there was the greatest concentration of artists, poets, scientists, lawyers and doctors who had fled Hitler. Gottfried Reinhardt said that a German university could easily have been founded here; there was certainly no shortage of professors from the various faculties. A German hospital would also have been staffed by a wide variety of specialists. A theater in particular, if it could manage without an audience, would find enough outstanding actors, directors, playwrights and artistic directors. In Hollywood, everyone knew everyone. People who would never have met in Berlin met regularly in the same theaters. At no other time was there such close contact and a lively exchange of ideas among German writers and artists as during the war years in Hollywood. However, this form of communication was by no means viewed positively by most emigrants.

The work and earning opportunities of the individuals were also very different, more or less all suffered from a state of shackled productivity. Most believed that they could not achieve what was possible for them here. Even the most successful, who no longer wanted to return to Germany, did not see Hollywood as the place of their fulfillment. In such an atmosphere, tensions, disputes and enmities were inevitable. These contrasts in the ghetto were exacerbated by those of the environment: California not only boasts the highest peak in the continental USA and the lowest point (below sea level), only a few kilometers apart, but snow also lies directly above the desert, subtropical flora, architecture imitating every style in the world, mountain lakes and ocean beaches alternate, fir forests and parched canyons are populated by city dwellers who prefer not to part with the air conditioning. Made up, powdered, costumed, they fry in the bright sun. Theater people without theater. Colossal wealth is accumulated by people who are basically needless. They are decried as sybarites, but in reality they live only for work. Full of provincial inferiority complexes, the Hollywood ... hospitable, but sensitive to criticism. And everyone criticized. Especially the emigrant. Laughing Hollywood can't stand laughter, can't muster any self-irony. The symbol is Buster Keaton: 'Dead-pan', and that means: petrified face in all situations. "¹

¹ *Gottfried Reinhardt, Der Liebhaber. Erinnerungen seines Sohnes Gottfried Reinhardt an Max Reinhardt, Munich/Zurich 1973, p. 269.*

In the lonely Skovsbostrand, Helene Weigel had to laboriously ensure that Brecht could debate with different people. In Hollywood, that happened by itself. And yet he never had the great desire for conversation that he usually felt. Salka Viertel, with whom he often stayed, said that she never actually heard him laugh out loud. "He smiled his fine smile, but never laughed properly and heartily. . ."² And yet Brecht liked to laugh, usually loudly and conspicuously.

Groups form in every ghetto, including Hollywood of course, although there were no clear boundaries. Everyone invited other guests to their party, so people from different backgrounds came into contact with each other. Thomas Mann's house was one such group. Another, politically left-wing group, gathered around Fritz Kortner and consisted mainly of emigrated actors. According to Salka Viertel, Bruno and Lies! Frank, the Polgars, Franz and Alma Werfel formed a *circle* that felt connected to the House of Thomas Mann and to which Wilhelm and Charlotte Dieterle as well as Fritz Massary also considered themselves to belong. Max Reinhardt, on the other hand, ignored the ghetto, according to his son. Hollywood celebrities liked to come to his house on the Pacific for dinner and conversation, but hardly anyone came to his workshop performances.

In Hollywood, Brecht initially had a circle of friends with whom he could work and discuss Marxist points of view. These included Hanns Eisler, later Paul Dessau, Ferdinand Reyher, Fritz Kortner, Lion Feuchtwanger and Peter Lorre. The circle of "Frankfurtists", as Brecht and Eisler referred to them, the scholars of the Frankfurt School such as Theodor W. Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Friedrich Pollock and Herbert Marcuse, stood out from this group. In Germany, Brecht would probably not have had any contact with them and would not have sought out the conversation. In Hollywood, such distance was not possible, despite his critical stance. Between these two groups were those émigrés who felt very unhappy in the USA, who were neither able to build on their former successes nor even make a name for themselves, such as Heinrich Mann, Alfred Döblin, Berthold Viertel and Arnold Schönberg. Brecht remained close to them despite his politically divergent opinions and even opposing views. Americans were always present at the parties, so that they never became mere social gatherings among emigrants, as was much more the case in other emigration centers.

The most informal meetings were at Salka Viertel's house. Greta Garbo told Max Reinhardt how she intended to play Hamlet; Chaplin complemented his universal genius and captured his future musical ghost writer, the brilliant ear-whisperer Hanns Eisler; the amiable, virile Rubinstein and the unlovable, visionary Schönberg met; there the great comedian Curt Bois imitated the ugliness of the profoundly serious violinist Bronislaw Hubermann; there, after decades of estrangement and weeks of protocol negotiations, the brothers Heinrich and Thomas Mann reconciled at a festively laid ping-pong table, where otherwise Schönberg wanted to wipe out his more tonal colleagues one more time, but the twelve-tone system failed for once..."³

She introduced people to each other in her home. This was often more necessary than many celebrities of the Weimar Republic were willing to admit. In California, she knew

² *Salka Viertel, Das unbelehrbare Herz. A Life in the World of Theater, Literature and Film, Hamburg and Düsseldorf 1970, p. 417.*

³ *Reinhardt, The Lover, p. 270.*

people didn't usually know what had been famous in Berlin. In the early years, people thought the Brechts were a funny couple who didn't speak a word of English.

After a few attempts, Feuchtwanger had settled back into the way he was used to. Whatever happened to him, he always managed to restore his cultivated lifestyle, characterized by tasteful luxury. Even in the most adverse circumstances, he behaved as an artist of life. While Brecht mocked Thomas Mann's lifestyle, his house and his car, even though Thomas Mann lived an almost modest life compared to Feuchtwanger, he showed no signs of envy towards his friend. When Feuchtwanger managed to free up his blocked bank accounts after moving to the USA, he changed houses four times until he moved into the villa in Pacific Palisades in 1943. He had bought the property cheaply because the house stood on a hill away from the others and had to be brought up to building standards at considerable expense. Under Feuchtwanger's direction, however, it soon took on contours that prompted visitors to speak of Feuchtwanger as the "lord of the castle". Brecht, who made detailed notes in his "working journal" about Feuchtwanger's thoughts on the course of the war and Hitler, does not describe this house, in which he was often a guest.

Twice a year, Feuchtwanger invited German writers and artists to his house to read from a new work. Eisler recounts: "And sometimes, unfortunately, he read to us. And now it's like this: I like reading his novels, but I don't listen to them read aloud. Well, he didn't do that with Brecht. He simply didn't choose Brecht. But I often had to listen to it. And Kortner too. There was no pardon. You just had to keep quiet. He read very well, by the way."⁴ After the reading, he asked for opinions, for additional thoughts on his work. Brecht would not have taken part in the discussion because the first word was usually reserved for Thomas Mann.

Brecht much preferred intimate conversations with the clever Feuchtwanger or in a small circle of friends. Feuchtwanger's political views usually stood out in the round table. Especially in the depressing year 1941, when the fascist armies advanced deep into the territory of the USSR and quite a few emigrants believed that Europe had been lost to Hitler, Feuchtwanger was optimistic. Brecht was pleased. On October 27, he noted: "The Nazis are invading the Crimea, threatening the Caucasus, Lenin Grad and Moscow, the English are looking on 'worriedly', but FEUCHTWANGER shows the utmost astonishment if anyone doubts that the Russians could still win. any doubt about this seems to him pure folly."⁵ When Fritz Kortner, Heinrich Mann, Ludwig Marcuse and Brecht met with Feuchtwanger a week later, they expressed their disappointment at the poor start to the British offensive in Libya. Feuchtwanger did not share this opinion this time either. The British were working a little more slowly, but in the end Nazi Rommel would still be delivered. Not even Brecht was prepared to follow him so easily. "i myself believe that no weapon can be so young that it will not fail in the hands of a class as old as the english aristocracy."⁶ Brecht was deeply impressed by the determined, all-possibilities-mobilizing

⁴ *Hanns Eisler, Gespräche mit Hans Bunge. Ask more about Brecht, translated and explained by Hans Bunge, Leipzig 1975, p. 48 f.*

⁵ *Bertolt Brecht, Arbeitsjournal 1938- 1955, Berlin and Weimar 1977, p. 191, October 27, 1941.*

⁶ *Ibid., p. 199, December 3, 1941.*

Resistance from the Soviets. Here he agreed with Feuchtwanger, whose general optimism, however, he did not share. Brecht turned the conversation from the Libyan offensive to the resistance of the Rostov residents, who defended themselves against the soldiers invading their homes with frying pans, thus making the war their personal cause. The fascist press found such an attitude outrageous, saying it violated the laws of war. The old Heinrich Mann took Brecht's side when he remarked : "Yes, tanks are allowed, but not frying pans."⁷

One of the most frequent topics of conversation, not only in Feuchtwanger's house, was the phenomenon of Hitler. The author of historical novels saw this as a work problem for himself. Feuchtwanger came back to it again and again. Brecht noted a little sympathetically :

"feuchtwanger and others cannot come to terms with the HITLER phenomenon because they do not see the phenomenon of the 'ruling petty bourgeoisie'. the petty bourgeoisie is not an independent class in economic terms. it always remains an object of politics, now it is an object of upper middle-class politics."⁸ The next day, on February 28, 1942, the Feuchtwangers came to Brecht's for dinner. The topic of the previous day, "Is Hitler a puppet?", was taken up again. Brecht and Feuchtwanger took controversial positions. Feuchtwanger did not want to concede Hitler a plan or an original idea. In his eyes, he was an insignificant mime hired by the Reichswehr to do its business. From the point of view of art in particular, Brecht found such a standpoint inadequate, because then Hitler could only be portrayed in drama as insignificant, as a mere character. He himself had solved the problem by portraying Hitler not primarily as a great criminal, but as the perpetrator of great crimes. But the whole subject would not have been so important to Brecht if he had not seen the problem in Feuchtwanger's methodical starting point. Once again, Brecht saw his friend as judging social issues from an intellectual aristocratism: "the style is the man."⁹ In contrast to Feuchtwanger, Brecht had no qualms about seeing Hitler as a "great man" if he was made aware of where "bourgeois greatness" could lead. Brecht argued : "one does not fight hitler if one presents him as particularly incompetent, as an outgrowth, perversity, humbug, a special pathological case and holds up the other bourgeois politicians to him as models, unattained models; just as one cannot fight fa schism if one wants to isolate it from the 'healthy' bourgeoisie (reichswehr and industry) and eliminate it 'alone'. would one approve of him if he were 'great'? - but even a profound dramatic portrayal, for example, does not seem possible to me if it is overlooked that he is a truly national figure, a 'people's leader', a clever, vital, unconventional and original politician, and his extreme corruption, inadequacy, brutality etc. only then come into play effectively. the beast,

very ill, very dangerous, very strong, thinks sharply in detail, expresses herself most cleverly when she is confused (the style is the situation), acts erratically, pathologically, 'intuitive', constantly producing virtues made of necessity, the famous 'bumps' are nothing but counterattacks to anti[ci]pated thrusts by the enemy. "¹⁰ Feuchtwanger, who clung to the opinion that Hitler was nothing, did not go down well with the American press either. Nor did it print such an article about Hitler by Feuchtwanger. With

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., p. 234, February 27, 1942.

⁹ Ibid., p. 235, February 28, 1942.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 235f.

Brecht commented with obvious scorn: "But the American does not understand at all how a man could be nothing if the USA wants to spend 40 billion to destroy him."¹¹

The discussion about the Hitler phenomenon preoccupied many emigrants. So it annoyed Kortner that someone had said to him that Hitler was a second Napoleon. What he then found out after some thought formed the satyr play to Brecht's serious discussion with Feuchtwanger. Kortner called Brecht and told him that for him Hitler was "a second Mussolini"¹².

Through Feuchtwanger, but also simply through the parties that were common in Hollywood, Brecht came into contact with people he did not like at all. At Feuchtwanger, for example, he met the historian-writer Emil Ludwig, one of the successful writers of the Weimar Republic who remained successful even in exile. „ . . . a very inhibited one, somewhat drunk, subaltern, but with the 'spark' person, completely devoid of spirit, unoriginal but at the mercy of the original, foolish but appreciative of wisdom.

zend."¹³ He could not forgive his friend Feuchtwanger for promising him an essay on Ovid. Since Feuchtwanger had found out that Ovid had been exiled by mistake, he could not be persuaded by Brecht to "characteristically break" his promise to Ludwig. Brecht was somewhat saddened to see how far the researcher had gone in his pursuit of baseless principles.

On New Year's Eve 1941, the Brechts celebrated with the Feuchtwangers at Elisabeth Bergner's house. That evening, as Brecht put it, Erich Maria Remarque "dropped in". Although Remarque was much more energetically anti-fascist in the USA and was also more prominent again as a writer than in his former country of exile, Switzerland, he was also regarded here as a literary bon vivant. To outsiders it seemed as if he had to prove that the playboy also existed in anti-fascist exile. At an evening party at Salka Viertel's house, he replied to the question of whether he had a longing for Germany:

"Why? I'm not a Jew!"¹⁴ Brecht tolerated any lifestyle as long as it didn't get in the way of work. But anyone who, in his view, lived like this into the day, did not deserve to be spared. The characterization of Remarque that he entered in his "work journal" is not without malice, as he compared him to the fascist poet Hanns Heinz Ewers, who had written a Horst Wessel novel: "[Remarque] is in a tuxedo, looks like Hanns Heinz Ewers, and something is missing from his face, probably a monocle."¹⁵

On the other hand, it became clear again and again how close Brecht remained to people, even if they had broken away from their earlier insights along a certain path, such as Alfred Döblin, with whom he had often discussed in Berlin. He still appreciated his views on the epic. However, meetings with Döblin were rare; without a car, he was dependent on the help of friends if he wanted to talk to others. With no means of earning a living, no success, no public recognition and only a few friends to rely on, he must have felt his isolation to be total. Brecht found Döblin's financial and domestic situation particularly outrageous. However, according to

¹¹ Ibid., p. 192, November 1, 1941.

¹² Ibid., p. 211, December 29, 1941.

¹³ Ibid., p. 221, January 24, 1942.

¹⁴ Reinhardt, *The Lover*, p. 270.

¹⁵ Brecht, *Arbeitsjournal*, p. 212, December 31, 1941.

In his opinion, this novelist was the only German writer who had settled in California. In fact, Döblin was far worse off than Brecht himself. After his contract with the film company MGM expired, he received a weekly unemployment benefit of 18 dollars. "in the evening at döblin's. small furnished house for 60 dollars a month, which they have to get out of, now that he (along with 8 others, including heinrich mann, who, arriving from france, got picturewriter contracts) is fired. he is faced with nothing, but shows his old berlin humor. what kind of business to do? to get a doctor's degree, he would have to study for a year, as a healer he would have to

know english (i can't ask a man in hypnosis to tell me a word that

I miss for him)."¹⁶ Film story writing was also even more unpleasant for Döblin

than for Brecht, since he had to sit out his monthly 1 00 dollar check from 10 a.m. to 5 or 6 p.m. in the office. In contrast to Brecht, who was prepared to write Hollywood-style, Döblin declared that he would not sell out. Such a position must have seemed completely incomprehensible here, where everything was measured by the amount of the purchase price, simply moronic. To further isolate himself, he accused the successful writers of buying their prosperity by sacrificing their poetic integrity. His polemical attitude towards Feuchtwanger was similar to that of Brecht towards Thomas Mann. In his criticism of Thomas Mann, however, whom Döblin considered

"the prime example of upper middle-class degeneration"¹⁷, they were in complete agreement. When Brecht received his fee for "Hangmen", he renounced the financial help from the European Film Fund and now supported Alfred Döblin.

While Brecht admired Döblin's relentless adherence to the standard of writing he had developed during the years of the Weimar Republic and preferred to take on the role of a Don Quixote in Hollywood, he lamented the fact that this socially critical poet had turned to the mystical and thrown himself into the arms of the church. Brecht, who wrote in his "work journal" two days before meeting Döblin in April 1942: "and day and night the battle for human dignity rages on the snowfields of Smolensk"¹⁸, must have been bitterly disappointed when Döblin made no secret of his anti-Soviet attitude towards him. Brecht used to forget people with such an attitude. Towards Döblin, in whose esteem he made no concessions, he felt "something of the sympathetic horror about a prisoner who has succumbed to torture and is now testifying"¹⁹.

Döblin had been trying to convert to the Catholic Church ever since he moved to the USA. He announced his decision, which came as a surprise to everyone, at the celebration that his friends had arranged for his 65th birthday on August 14, 1943, in the small theater hall in Santa Monica. Everyone who had anything to do with German literature had come that day, even those who otherwise kept their distance from the bitterly polemical Döblin. The fact that the celebration took place was mainly due to the initiative of Helene Weigel and Brecht. "We were all very moved and wanted to pay tribute to good old Döblin, to whom we are all very close from Berlin.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 188, October 25, 1941.

¹⁷ *German Exile Literature since 1933*, Vol. 1: California, edited by John M. Spalek and Joseph Strelka, Bern and Munich 1976, p. 308.

¹⁸ *Brecht, Arbeitsjournal*, p. 253, April 12, 1942.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 339, August 14, 1943.

were celebrating. And Brecht's house was the organizational center of the 'organization of Döblin's birthday party' "²⁰, Hanns Eisler recalled. He himself took it upon himself to win over Feuchtwanger, Thomas and Heinrich Mann for the tribute. He asked Salka Viertel's brother, the internationally sought-after pianist Eduard Steuermann, to play a piano piece composed for Döblin's birthday party. Heinrich Mann gave the welcoming address and the laudatory speech. The actors Kortner, Lorre and Granach read from Döblin's works. Blandine Ebinger sang Berlin chansons.

It would have been a truly successful celebration had Döblin not asked for the floor for a thanksgiving, which he used to make a Christian profession of faith. Everyone found this revelation embarrassing, even grotesque. Thomas **Mann** said it was regrettable that Döblin had made such a fool of himself. Hanns Eisler, who had set everything in motion at Brecht's instigation, felt completely fooled: "So I almost became rude. I said to myself, this is going too far. They break into my house, I compose a piece of music for this fool, my poor friend Steuermann, instead of spending his vacation on the beach, rehearses it - and I hear that I'm supposed to look for God. That goes too far for me. I didn't make a scandal in the lecture hall, but I left the row of chairs so loudly and clearly - where Brecht always shouted 'shhhh' after me - and went away and made what they call an 'unpleasant fuss'. So that was a miserable situation. It just goes to show that the Brecht family - especially Bert; and I must praise Helli too - are really capable of friendship."²¹ Although Brecht also found it all extremely embarrassing - he recorded his impression in the poem "Embarrassing Incident" - he nevertheless tried to empathize with the man who had been so wounded by time that he sought solace elsewhere than in the hope of the new era. Brecht apologized to Döblin, but not without highlighting the social consequences, the lack of political attitude which, in his opinion, had caused Döblin to drift more and more into the sidelines. "a fatal feeling gripped the more rational listeners, . . . in fact, particularly hard blows knocked döblin down: the loss of two sons in france, the unprintability of a 2,400-page epic, angina pectoris (the great convert) and life with an unusually stupid and stuffy wife when döblin began to write,

like many other writers, he was also complicit in the rise of the nazis ('didn't you say, mr. thomas mann, that he was like a brother, a bad one of course', he asked after the first row), and resolutely raised the question of why, i childishly believed for a few minutes, he would now continue: 'because I have covered up the crimes of the rulers, discouraged the oppressed, fobbed off the starving with songs' etc. but he only went on stubbornly, unrepentantly, without remorse: 'because I did not seek God. ' "²² California also brought

Brecht together with Thomas Mann far more often than would have been expected. would ever have happened in Germany. There were no invitations to 5 o'clock tea with Thomas Mann, but they met in the houses that maintained contact with both Thomas Mann and Bertolt Brecht. The fact that Brecht lived in close proximity to Mann did nothing to change the tensions that had always existed, which on the contrary became even more acute. Towards the end of the war, there were also political reasons for this. But to a large extent, the polemic was simply dictated by Brecht's envy. An unmistakable feeling seemed to tell him that he would only move into the front ranks of German poets if his

²⁰ *Eis/er, Conversations with Hans Bunge*, p. 77.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

²² *Brecht, Arbeitsjournal*, p. 339, August 14, 19 43.

literary reputation approached that of Thomas Mann. Brecht still believed that the Thomas Mann circle saw him above all as the successful lyricist of the "Threepenny Opera". The last example of this was the "Fear and Misery" criticism by Hermann Kesten in "Aufbau". He pasted this criticism into his "work journal" with the comment :

"it is interesting how attempts are made to simply expel certain works of art from literature and place them in special concentration camps. the literature of the low cannot be high literature." ²³ The choice of words alone, "to expel from literature", in special concentration camps" sheds light on the hatred that has arisen there. had accumulated.

Eisler repeatedly complained, "Brecht was against Thomas Mann with a - I can only say: renitence!" ²⁴ Although the dislike was supported by references to the works, these actually played no role at all, because no one read the others. Eisler thought that Thomas Mann knew some of Brecht's plays, but he understood his role in German literature just as little as Georg Lukacs. The grotesque thing is that it was Thomas Mann who first introduced the Americans to the name Brecht. As a correspondent for the American magazine "The Dial", he referred to "Drums in the Night" in the September 1923 issue and to "Eduard" in the November 1924 issue, calling the author "a strong but somewhat careless talent spoiled by the German public" ²⁵. As far as Brecht's knowledge of Thomas Mann was concerned, Eisler said : "I think Brecht only knew Thomas Mann from my reports. Brecht was very fond of this kind of literary reporter. Because I also read very thick books. I don't mind, because the evening is often long and I can't compose in the evening. I used to tell Brecht about beautiful passages in 'The Magic Mountain'. And he was always amazed that there were such good things in it. He said you really had to look through it once. He never got around to it." ²⁶ There was no hatred of Brecht on Thomas Mann's part, rather indifference. But this annoyed Brecht even more. What upset him most in exile in America, however, was the matter-of-factness with which this writer was given the role of political leader, as he considered him to be the least competent in all matters of politics.

Eisler's contacts with Thomas Mann were perceived by Brecht as a kind of "treason". Eisler not only regarded Thomas Mann as a great poet whose novels impressed him personally, he also judged his political activity differently from Brecht. There was no question in Eisler's mind that Thomas Mann showed courage and commitment in the anti-fascist struggle, whereas Brecht only ever saw half measures, cowardly retreats and compromises. He consistently made use of the opportunities that arose for him from his privileged position in German literature, that he could speak to German listeners from abroad via the radio. Even if Brecht did not like Thomas Mann's novels, he could at least have appreciated this political work against Hitler. But no, he always wanted Thomas Mann to sign much more far-reaching declarations. Whereas Brecht even expressed downright reactionary views in Schönberg's work.

²³ Ibid., p. 276, June 8, 1942.

²⁴ *Eisler, Conversations with Hans Bunge*, p. 22.

²⁵ Barbara Glauert first drew attention to these early reviews of Brecht plays by Thomas Mann, *Brecht-Jahrbuch* 1976, Frankfurt a. M. 1976, p. 210 f., quoted from: *James K. Lyon, Bertolt Brecht in America*, Frankfurt a. M. 1984, p. 353.

²⁶ *Eisler, Conversations with Hans Bunge*, p. 23.

Thomas Mann was not spared if he did not agree with his political opinion. But even if he had agreed with him politically, he would not have taken him seriously. Brecht's tolerant attitude towards Arnold Schönberg was only made possible, however, by the fact that Eisler took him into his care in such a way that he put aside all polemics against the great musician and entrusted them only to his "working journal". But even there he remained tolerant and full of respect. Eisler did not succeed in persuading him to adopt a similar attitude towards Thomas Mann, although he also enlisted the help of Lion Feuchtwanger. "When Thomas Mann was with me, I always tried to invite Brecht as well. Feuchtwanger too. You can see what problems you had: who do you invite! There was also nonsense like that, short and sweet: mistrust, Reni

The fact that Thomas Mann and Brecht were so close to each other, and even maliciously loud remarks, made it rather unpleasant for them to be together. Above all was Thomas Mann's age. He was already out of the shooting age. And what was that all about? So why is that?"²⁷

Even if this attempt at mediation failed, Eisler must be recognized as having had an extremely lasting influence on Brecht, especially in his American exile. What he did not succeed in doing, no one else could. In contrast to Brecht, Eisler was very well read. Real literacy is just as rare as great talent. The inner drive to do so comes not least from sublime boredom, which Brecht did not know at all. He did not even understand such a state. Brecht was always able to do a lot with what he read, even if it was only passed on by others. Fragments were enough for him. The fragmentary was his favorite. Reading his way into a work of fiction, velvet, penetrating an unfamiliar world of thanks step by step, did not suit him at all. He only ever looked for what he could use in his own way. *If* Brecht gave the impression that he was well-read, it was really only because he absorbed and consumed an astonishing amount of material. At the same time, contact with such well-read people as Eisler and Feuchtwanger seemed vital to him. But while he saw Feuchtwanger as too caught up in tradition, he knew from Eisler that he was adept at the difficult operation of separating the technical from the substantive. With a dialectician like Eisler, he could be sure that he would think a work through from different angles and not just judge it on the basis of artistic taste. This was, so to speak, the secret influence that Eisler was able to exert on Brecht. When he recommended a long-forgotten writer, when he referred to classical poets who had been used by the reaction – like Hölderlin, who was abused by fascism – Brecht could be sure that there was something to it. When Eisler praised the musical genius of his teacher Schönberg, who mourned the monarchy politically, he did so not only out of love for his teacher, but out of the realization that artistic progress in material does not always go hand in hand with an understanding of political progress.

In Hollywood, Brecht also met with the first set of the emigrated Frankfurt Institute for Social Research, with Theodor W. Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Herbert Marcuse, Friedrich Pollock and, in this environment, with the physicist and philosopher Hans Reichenbach. Although Brecht enjoyed talking to academics and even sought out conversations with them, even if they held completely different views to his own, his encounters with the representatives of the Frankfurt School tended to be distant or even outright polemical, even hostile. However, one should not imagine every conversation to be as polemically charged as some of the notes in the "Arbeitsjournal" suggest.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 22f.

lay. Brecht also obtained very factual information from these people, in which he was always interested, and occasionally used them, like Adorno for example, to establish or renew relationships.

The Institute for Social Research had emigrated to New York in 1934. Horkheimer and Adorno moved to California in 1941, at the same time as Brecht settled there. They remained associated with the Institute, which continued to exist in New York, but developed a lively lecture life in a small circle in the Los Angeles – Hollywood area. The members of the institute met regularly at Horkheimer's or Adorno's home for seminars and discussions. They did not always try to keep to themselves and invited scientists and artists who lived here and from whom they hoped to gain inspiration. When Brecht became acquainted with this circle, important works by individual members were available - Horkheimer's essay "Neue Kunst und Massen-Literatur" (1941), Herbert Marcuse's Hegel book "Vernunft und Revolution" (1941). Brecht got to know most of the members of the Institute in the very first year of his exile in the USA. Not yet a month in the country, he met "the double clown horkheimer and pollock" at a garden party, as he put it in his "work journal". . . the two tuis from the frankfurt sociological institute. horkheimer is a millionaire, pollock only from a good family, so only h[orkheimer] can buy a professorship at his respective place of residence 'to cover the institute's revolutionary activities to the outside world'. this time it's at columbia, but since the big redsrazzias, h[orkheimer] has lost the just to 'sell his soul, which always more or less takes place at a university', and they move to the paradisiacal west. what are academic pal men ! - with their money they keep a dozen or so intellectuals afloat, who have to hand in all their work without the guarantee that the journal will ever print it. so they can claim that 'saving the institute's money' has been their main revolutionary duty all these years."

The extent to which Brecht despised these scholars or distanced himself from them can be seen much more clearly from the degree of exaggeration than from the facts he communicated. Whenever the punch line became more important to him than the facts, you could be sure that he was intent on polemics and aggression. At the time, Horkheimer was neither a millionaire nor did he buy himself professorships. The mockery in the entry was aimed at the fact that he simply did not want to allow these people to use the word

revolutionary" in his mouth. His treatment of Adorno was somewhat less harsh. "like sengrundadorno here. he has become round and fat and brings an essay on *RICHARD WAGNER*, not uninteresting, but based exclusively on repressions, complexes, hem rummaging in the consciousness of the old mythmaker, in this routine of lukacs, bloch, stern, all of whom are just repressing an old psychoanalysis. " In the twenties Adorno had written about the function of music in Brecht's work, but there were probably hardly more than fleeting encounters between the two. Brecht, for his part, described Adorno and Horkheimer as if he had known them before. It is probably certain that Walter Benjamin, who also belonged to the Institute, told him about his unpleasant disputes with Adorno and Horkheimer, so that Brecht believed himself to be sufficiently informed about the Institute. That he hardly knew anything about their works,

²⁸ Brecht, Arbeitsjournal, p. 181, /August 1941/.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 219, January 18, 1942 .

can be inferred from the fact that he lumped them together in their scientific positions.

What Brecht disliked most about the Frankfurtists was their on the one hand - on the other. With them, everything always remained in limbo, everything seemed to be based on mediation. This was one of the main reasons why Brecht did not concern himself with their theory. It provided him with no impetus towards the real struggles. As much as he liked to deal with theories that were considered controversial or absurd among the Marxist-Leninists, he did not believe he could recognize anything in the Frankfurtists that would encourage him to engage productively with them. As a result, Brecht was completely uninterested in a theory whose main categories also formed the key concepts of his method: critique, reason, explanation, dialectics. The difference, indeed the contrast, became immediately apparent when their use was brought up. However, the theories of the Frankfurtists were by no means as reprehensible as Brecht made them out to be. If he had confronted them, an important philosophical debate would have ensued. The Californian exile offered an opportunity that later seemed inconceivable. Brecht established himself as a philosopher in literature by finding certain philosophical ideas so productive that he developed them further with the methodological understanding of his poetry, thereby lending them a dimension that then stood out from the theoretical thinking of philosophy. The works of Adorno, Horkheimer, Pollock and Marcuse offered him no opportunity to do so.

The polemical relations between Brecht and the Frankfurtists, which were kept at a distance, were largely explained by the image that each side had of the other. For the Frankfurtists, especially Horkheimer and Adorno, Brecht was seen as a bad vulgar Marxist, an unscrupulous simplifier. In their eyes, he represented a crude Marxism and a completely undialectical optimism. They regarded his consistent solidarity with the proletariat as completely misguided and probably didn't even consider it genuine. In contrast, they saw Eisler as an educated, philosophical mind. Brecht, however, was not. Since they expected only crude polemics from him, they didn't even invite him. They had more understanding for his poetry, but they found it ruined by simplistic philosophical thinking. Even if their view of his poetic significance was less obscured by tradition than Lukacs', it was Brecht's incipient world fame that caused them to change their assessment. Brecht, on the other hand, saw in the Frankfurtists only "half-Marxists" who lacked any real polemic or fighting position on capitalism. He only considered them capable of perceiving the decline of the class they still professed to belong to. In his poetry, he characterized them as tuis who rent their heads to the entrepreneurs but pretend to think for the general public.

KURT PÄTZOLD

The murder of the Berlin zoologist Walther Arndt in 1944 and the futile attempts to save his life

A few days before the anti-Nazi putschists attempted to kill Hitler and seize power in 1944, a man was murdered in Brandenburg a. d. Havel in a case that the Secret State Police had arrested on January 12, 1944 - for violating the Wehrmacht and the Treachery Act. The charges against him had been brought by the Chief Reich Prosecutor on April 4 and served on the People's Court on April 27. On May 11, this court, presided over by Roland Freiser, met and pronounced the death sentence. The clemency report was submitted on May 31 and the decision to carry out the death sentence was made on June 8.¹ So much for the bureaucratically recorded facts. In the end, one human life was destroyed. It was that of zoologist Walther Arndt, professor and curator at the Zoological Museum of Friedrich Wilhelm University in Berlin.²

There is nothing to suggest that the scientist had any connection to his professional colleagues or to other people who were part of the extensive organizational network of the July 20 conspirators. Everything we know about Walther Arndt indicates that he was a loner in character and lifestyle. He did not pay much attention to politics on a large or small scale, neither during the years of the Weimar Republic nor during those of the fascist dictatorship; he did not join any organizations or hold any offices outside his profession or academia. He lived unmarried, not far from his place of work, the Zoological Museum, according to a fixed and strict rhythm determined by his scientific duties and work.

It is not possible to determine when this man came into internal conflict with fascism and the war he caused. However, the fact that he was never a committed partisan of those in power is at least indicated by the fact that, despite all his efforts to appease the regime, no more political connections to the regime could be found than his membership of the National Socialist People's Welfare **Organization (NSV)** and his donations to the Winter Relief Organization (**WHW**). A single brief statement from 1937 has survived, which gives no more than a hint of this.

¹ The information is taken from the murder register of the Reich Ministry of Justice, in the ZStA Potsdam, copy in the University Archives of the Humboldt University in Berlin (further: UA), personal file Walther Arndt, vol. 86, 1.

² All other biographical information about Arndt in this article is taken from his entries in the questionnaires known as "Personalnachrichten" (personnel information). UA, Arndt personnel file, vol. 86, 1 and 2.

that the zoologist had a critical relationship with fascist racial politics. When a bookseller, to whom he had given the manuscript of a scientific work for review, pointed out to him that the authors Arndt referred to included some of Jewish origin, Arndt replied that this was of no relevance to him, but could only be of significance to those who belonged to the Reich Propaganda Ministry, to which he did not belong.³

It can be proven that in the second half of 1943, the scientist had advanced to political insights that put him in complete opposition to the fascist rulers and led the People's Court to the verdict that Arndt was "a dangerous defeatist"⁴. From Freisler's terse, legally sloppy and morally contemptuous verdict, it is possible to reconstruct insights that are very similar to those that guided and determined some of the putschists of July 20, 1944. There is the view expressed by Arndt in August 1943 that the war was lost. His view was based on the fact that Fascist Germany had just lost its main ally, Italy, and Arndt may have remembered in this context that the allies' apostasy had already heralded the end, the defeat, in the First World War.

The collapse of the Fascist regime in Italy in 1943 was apparently also seen by other conservative circles as a harbinger of renewed military defeat and as a model for the replacement of Nazi rule in Germany. In 1943, for example, a Potsdam publisher who was a member of the local casino society said that a group of military men would also take power in Germany and that the development thus initiated would be steered towards the re-establishment of the monarchy. After denunciation by the People's Court on February 15, 1944, he was sentenced to death.

December 4, 1944 executed.

Arndt's awareness of the lost war was further shaped by his direct experience of the increasingly devastating Anglo-American air raids on the city of Berlin. As far as we know, it was under the direct impression of such an attack that he gave vent to his heart for the first time - to a childhood friend in his native Silesian Landeshut, where Arndt was born and grew up. Even then he came into contact with an informer. She, who was confronted with Arndt before Freisler's tribunal, had noted down the few statements made by her former confidante, so that a certain reliability of the tradition can be assumed.⁵

Arndt had also worked his way through to the realization that the impending defeat in the war would be historically momentous. It was, according to his judgment

³ D. H. H. Kühlmann presents Arndt's scientific work and attitude and the most important publications that emerged from it in a brochure published by the Museum of Natural History at Humboldt University in Berlin: "The scientist and anti-fascist Professor Dr. Dr. Walther Arndt" (Berlin n.d.).

⁴ These and the following excerpts from the verdict are partly taken from the brief justification of the verdict, which the Reich Minister for Science, Education and National Education sent to the university trustee in a letter dated August 10, 1944 (UA, Arndt personal file, vol. 86, I), and partly from its long version, printed in Walter Wagner, *Der Volksgerichtshof im national-sozialistischen Staat*, Stuttgart 1974,

⁵ p. 358 ff. Arndt's informers were Hanneliese Mehlhausen and her husband, the doctor Siegfried M., as well as the scientific employee of the Zoological Museum Wolfgang Stichel, who was in the Waffen SS at the time.

The words, "End the German Reich".⁶ Arndt's view on the question of war guilt was also unambiguous. "We are to blame for the war", he had been heard to say – for a war that only left open the question of "to what extent the guilty" would "be punished" at its end.⁷ There was nothing to mitigate these statements, and according to all that is known, the accused Hitler opponent also refrained from any attempt to engage in a mitigating interpretation of them in court. It therefore requires little imagination to picture what Freisler and the Nazis flanking him at the bench, a Kammergerichtsrat, an SS-Obersturmbannführer, an SA-Oberführer and an **NSDAP** Ortsgruppenleiter - the usual ruthless and merciless company - may have thought in the face of Arndt's clear prediction that their judges were already approaching.

The summarized justification of the murderous verdict then also read:

"He had to be condemned to death so that the certainty of victory and thus the fighting power of our homeland would remain untouched."⁸ This formulation contained an involuntary self-exposure that characterized the fundamentally changed situation. Certainty of victory could no longer be justified by referring to the war successes of fascist military units and weapons – it was now to be drawn from the liquidation of those who no longer granted this regime any prospects of victory and also said so. The "fighting power of our homeland" grew out of a belief in victory that had completely lost its rational arguments. The mystified view of current events was reaching a climax, and no one was allowed to pull back the veil that Nazi propaganda tried to put between people and the facts on a daily basis.

Even before the verdict against Arndt, there had already been judges who had sent people to the scaffold simply for speaking the unvarnished truth. What was new in mid-1944, however, was that a scientist of high international standing and reputation was sentenced to death and then executed on the basis of two denunciations. Considering that there were months between the disastrous conversations that Arndt had in July and September 1943, either in confidence or in anger, and his arrest in January 1944,^e and the denunciations were obviously made immediately after these conversations, it can be assumed that the Secret State Police had convinced themselves before the arrest that the "defeatist" had no organizational ties to resistance forces that were hostile to the regime and that he had only occasionally revealed his anti-Nazi sentiments.

The hope of those who believed they could still save the life of the condemned man was also based on this fact. Arndt himself did not take any steps in this direction. His lawyer's petition for clemency, submitted on May 12, 1944 on behalf of the man, attempted to relativize the significance of the anti-Nazi statements and to this end used a series of mainly psychological arguments, such as referring to the scientist's detachment from the world and his excitement at the danger of seeing his life's work perish in the bombing war.⁹

⁶ See note 4.

⁷ See *ibid.*

⁸ See *ibid.*

⁹ Arndt's defense counsel before the "People's Court" was the lawyer Arno Weichmann. Against this The Senate's reasoning had already stated that Arndt, who had a "leadership responsibility

This has led to an additional interest in the "Arndt case" on the part of the historian.

- The fact that a relatively broad campaign developed in favor of Arndt's pardon is the only way to access the discussion of broader questions. It comprises a series of facts that are not easy to interpret and sheds light on the domestic political situation in the middle of 1944.

Erika Land, Arndt's secretary, who lost her job at the Zoological Museum after Arndt's arrest and was transferred to the surgeon Ferdinand Sauerbruch during the war, was the driving force behind the efforts to secure Walther Arndt's pardon. She, in particular, in conjunction with the director of the Zoological Museum, Professor Hans von Lengerken, mobilized a large number of the scholar's colleagues, who advocated Arndt's pardon in their own statements. Scholars in Berlin, Vienna, Prague, Munich, Strasbourg and other cities delivered statements and expert opinions, with varying degrees of diction and detail, in favor of Arndt and the commutation of the death sentence to a prison sentence.

After Arndt's arrest, Hans von Lengerken wrote a letter dated February 10, 1944 to SS-Obersturmbannführer Baumert, who was chief of staff of the personal staff of Reichsführer SS Heinrich Himmler. As he had previously done in a telephone conversation, Lengerken also portrayed a colleague in a letter as an unworldly scholar and politically harmless person. More than a month later - there are no other messages - Lengerken received a message from an employee of the Sven Hedin Institute for Inner Asian Research, who referred to the SS officer from Himmler's entourage, that there was no prospect of standing up for Arndt. The latter is said to have said that "the Jewish action of 9/11/1938 was the beginning of the Second World War, so that we must now atone for this crime".

There is no mention of such a statement by Arndt in any other sources. Lengerken, however, did not allow this news to deter him from continuing to campaign for Arndt's survival. He was at the forefront of those who, in personal written statements after the trial and death sentence, continued to speak out in favor of their Kol legen and tried to impress the addressees by drawing their attention to the danger of Germany losing its monopoly position in the special field represented by Arndt and the succession of the USA that would then occur. Lengerken was obviously aware that only extraordinary influence, which he saw primarily on the part of the SS apparatus and sought to mobilize, would be able to prevent Arndt's death. He therefore turned to one of the leading Nazis at Berlin University, the Dean of the Faculty of Foreign Studies, Franz Six, who held a high SS rank and at the same time headed the cultural department in the Foreign Office as envoy first class. Six replied evasively to the request to intervene in Arndt's favor; the legal department of the ministry was in principle prepared to take a position, but the verdict and also the approval of the Reich Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop had to be obtained before it could take action. Then they wrote as early as June 16, 1944.

On the contrary, he would have been obliged to show "will to fight" all the more in view of the situation, so that the external circumstances under which he had taken a stand against the regime were held against him as an aggravating factor.

¹⁰ The statements with which Arndt was to be snatched from the executioner were collected in transcripts by Erika Land and can be found in UA, Personal File Arndt, Vol. 86, 3. They originate to a lesser extent from the time before the trial, for the most part from the weeks between 20 May and 15 June 1944. May and June 15, 1944 and are reactions to the announcement of the death sentence pronounced by the court.

Zu denen, die mit Lengerken für Arndts Begnadigung eintraten, gehörten u. a. die Professoren Oskar Heinroth, Direktor des Berliner Aquariums seit 1912; Otto Friedrich Gandert, der Vor- und Frühgeschichtler, Abteilungsdirektor im Märkischen Museum Berlin; der Direktor des Zoologischen Gartens Berlin Dr. Lutz Heck, der auch Leiter der Obersten Naturschutzbehörde im Reichsforstamt war; Dr. Günther Just, head of the Hereditary Research Institute of the Reich Health Office; Ulrich Gerhardt, university professor in Halle and specialist in the anatomy and physiology of domestic animals; Otto Koehler, university professor in Königsberg; the zoologist Hans Krieg, director of the zoological collections of the Bavarian state; the zoologist Caesar Boettger, associate university professor in Berlin and currently a colonel in the fascist Wehrmacht at the army gas school in Celle; Ernst Mangold, Director of the Institute for Animal Nutrition at the University of Berlin; Ferdinand Pax, 85 years old, a botanist and plant geographer, who had been one of Arndt's teachers as a former university professor in Breslau and Director of the Botanical Garden; the President of the Ibero-American Institute Berlin, Ambassador a. D. Faupel; Professor Richard Kolkwitz from the Lunz am See Biological Station (Lower Austria), which belonged to the Kaiser Wilhelm Society; Professor at the Technical University of Stuttgart, Director of the Württemberg Natural History Collection and Chairman of the Association of German Natural History Museums Max Rauther; Director of the Wrocław Zoological Garden Martin Schlott; Head of the Anatomical Institute at the University of Berlin Hermann Stieve; August Thienemann, professor at Kiel University and director of the Hydrobiological Institute of the Kaiser Wilhelm Society in Plön/Holstein; Carl Zimmer, professor emeritus at Berlin University and former director of the Berlin Zoological Museum; Hermann Weber, director of the Zoological Institute and Museum at the University of Strasbourg, who was also the federal leader of the Reichsbund für Biologie and 1st chairman of the German Zoological Society. Chairman of the German Zoological Society. Without knowing Arndt, the aged and ill geographer Albrecht Penck, who had last taught in Berlin until 1926, turned in favor of the convict. In a letter dated June 12, 1944, which he addressed directly to Reich Justice Minister Thierack, Ferdinand Sauerbruch advocated the mitigation of the sentence and wrote that he would also be available for a personal discussion on the matter. Some of Arndt's specialist colleagues apparently hoped that their interventions would have a greater effect if they wrote them with explicit emphasis on their fascist ranks, thus avoiding any suspicion that they were criticizing the regime. The curator at the Natural History Museum in Vienna, Günther Niethammer, referred to his current rank as an SS-Untersturmführer, Adolf Remane, university professor of zoology and oceanography in Kiel, to his position as an SA-Sturmführer and to the fact that he was a member of the Scientific Advisory Board of the National Socialist Academy in Kiel. Arndt's highest-ranking advocate in the SS hierarchy was Eduard Paul Tratz, Salzburg, head of the teaching and research center "Haus der Natur" in the research association "Das Ahnenerbe", who was also Gaujägermeister and held other Nazi functions.

If the submissions of these scientists were examined and compared seriously at all in the Reich Ministry of Justice, which is questionable, the impression could not have arisen that a group of politically like-minded scientists had expressed themselves. In terms of understanding the situation at the time, this is precisely what is most remarkable: for a man who had opposed the Nazi regime

The political position of his colleagues, as far as can be ascertained, ranged from the conservatism of the members of the Berlin Wednesday Society, to which Albrecht Penck belonged, to the most reliable Nazi loyalty. This fact remains significant, even if one has to take into account that one or the other advocate of a pardon may have been guided in his stance by the opportunistic viewpoint that he could not well exclude himself if his more renowned colleagues had already spoken out before him. In any case, Erika Land knew how to write her correspondence soliciting help in such a way that it was clear who and how many she had already induced or won over to intervene. And even after the execution had been carried out, she did not shy away from thanking all those who had tried to save Arndt's life with her in a large number of personal letters. She may have felt all the more obliged to take this step as none of the surviving letters received by Erika Land had the character of a mere exercise of duty and a considerable number of close and distant colleagues supported the pardon without knowing the details of the accusations against Arndt, the verbatim dissemination of which could have been interpreted as defeatist activity.

Under the conditions of fascist terror, it was of course impossible to ask for a commutation of the sentence in any other way than by spreading arguments that could count on any sympathy from the fascist judges. First and foremost, Arndt's merits in the First World War were brought to bear; as a newly licensed doctor, he had enlisted as a volunteer immediately after the start of the war on August 8, 1914, had already been taken prisoner of war in Russia in October, had practiced his medical work among captured German soldiers in Siberia until he was able to return to Germany in 1917. But as early as 1918 he went back to Russia, this time as a member of a prisoner-of-war commission, arrived in the Urals, finally in the Asian part of Soviet Russia, which was ravaged by civil war, got into White territory and, after a long journey via Vladivostok, Japan, San Francisco and New York, returned to Germany in August 1919. As a senior doctor in the reserve, decorated with the Iron Cross second class, he resigned from military service.

After working as a consultant physician at the Silesian State Insurance Institute in Breslau in 1919/21, he devoted himself entirely to science and had already moved to Berlin to work at the Zoological Museum in 1921. Arndt became an international authority of the first rank, and this fact formed the second argument that repeatedly appeared in his colleagues' petitions for clemency. A man of this knowledge and ability - Arndt's specialty was the study and systematization of sponges, but he was outstandingly knowledgeable in many areas of his field - should not be lost to German science, it was said again and again. And all the less so as his research was by no means only of a theoretical-systematic nature, but also had great economic and therefore war-related significance, as was explained with reference to his collaboration on the work "Die Rohstoffe des Tierreichs". One of the scientists who wrote in Arndt's favor said that carrying out the death sentence on this man would hardly be understood even in friendly foreign countries.

Finally - thirdly - many pointed out that they had experienced Arndt at quite different times as a man of "national" sentiment and attitude, and declared more or less firmly that they considered it quite impossible that he had departed from this attitude inwardly.

Erika Land collected all these statements and tried to bring them to Hitler's attention via State Secretary Otto Meißner, with whose sister she also corresponded, in order to prevent the execution. She believed she could persuade Meißner himself to take a step in Arndt's favor and never tired of trying to reach other high-ranking fascist politicians. Only Meißner's personal advisor responded with a reply stating that the overworked Meißner was unable to receive them and that the petitions for clemency had been forwarded to the Reich Minister of Justice. This was also where future letters in this matter were to be sent.¹¹

All efforts and all commitment yielded nothing. No argument caught on with the addressees. Even the fact that Arndt had organized the fire-fighting work on the roof of the museum building in the autumn of 1943 during devastating bombing raids, which had also affected the building, and had been awarded the War Cross of Merit 2nd Class for his efforts, had no effect.

The fascist rulers wanted the man's head, and this undoubtedly indicates that the transition to ever more excessive forms of judicial terror already predated July 20, 1944. At that time, the principle was to increase the terrorist deterrent to the utmost, regardless of the person, and even to accept an internal confrontation with a number of bourgeois scientists, who clearly did not support this terrorism, insofar as it affected one of their own, and did not remain silent about it in individual cases. Moreover, it was almost complementary to the contemptuous attitude of the fascist rulers and their followers towards members of the intelligentsia that they feared the sober judgments of those who were particularly trained to think logically, and all the more so the deeper they sought to drive the masses into irrational views of events. The SO reports of June 1944, for example, repeatedly show that the assessment of the situation among the intelligentsia was based more on the established facts than on the promises of Nazi propaganda. For example, the reports of June 8, which spoke of an expectant upswing in the mood in view of the

finally" broke out with the invading troops reported that "in addition to a number of some boffins would actually be in our Frauen", who are here and there of this disposition.

In another part of the same report it was noted that in intelligence circles one "dare not hope for such a smooth course (victory in the West, then in the East - K. P.)".¹² It was the main character trait of the criminal fascist judicial practice, that they "have the death penalty in an in of the bourgeois judicial system, the extent of which has never been seen before in the history of the world".¹⁴

¹¹ Erika Land to State Secretary Meißner on May 24, 1944; the reply from Meißner's personal advisor was sent on May 26, 1944 (stating that he was available for an interview, but that there was no direct contact with the Chief Reich Prosecutor's Office) and on May 31, 1944 (informing him that the documents sent to him had been forwarded to the Reich Ministry of Justice). UA, Arndt personal file, vol. 86, 2.

¹² Heinz Boberach (ed.), *Reports from the Reich. Die geheimen Lageberichte des Sicherheitsdienstes der SS 1938-1945*, vol. 17, Herrsching 1984, p. 6572.

¹³ Ibid., p. 6574.

¹⁴ Eduard Robofsky/Gerhard Oberkofler, *Verborgene Wurzeln der NS-Justiz. Strafrechtliche Rüstung für zwei Weltkriege*, Vienna 1985, p. 18.

The execution of a conservative bourgeois scholar was not an everyday occurrence in Nazi Germany, especially during the war years and since the end of the war in 1943, when the judiciary made its contribution to the desired final victory through increasingly bloody sentences. Until the weeks leading up to the assassination attempt of July 20, 1944, no further case could be determined, as a respected scientist, highly esteemed by his peers, was dragged under the guillotine.

The decision to carry out the sentence passed on Arndt despite all objections must be seen in relation to the date on which it was made. Two days earlier – on June 6, 1944 – Allied troops had landed on the Atlantic coast and the Second Front had been opened. The fascist leadership had been preparing for this event for some time. Their plans were based on the idea that they could inflict a crushing defeat on the landing troops, thus demonstrating to the rulers in London and Washington that their military victory was unattainable and forcing them to come to an understanding with the fascist rulers. This should provide the basis for turning all forces, without exception, against the USSR.

This idea existed as a hope and expectation not only in the minds of the political and military leaders of fascism. Nazi propaganda had also prepared large sections of the German population for this planned course of events. This was done with the psychological intention of giving the Germans at the front and in the hinterland an albeit vague idea of how the war would end. For no question preoccupied the population more in the midst of the growing hardships of war than its end.

By the end of spring 1944, the majority of Germans who still mentally followed the fascist orientations, although no longer without deep and nagging doubts, had resigned themselves to the fact that there would be no German military initiative on the eastern front and that they could only wait for the next major Soviet offensive. However, people were still looking more towards Western Europe, even though they were becoming increasingly tired of waiting. According to all reports by Nazi observers, the mood among the people continued to sink, helped by the air raids on large and medium-sized cities and the reports of the withdrawal of German troops in central Italy. The surrender of Rome, reported on 5 June 1944, had just raised the question of where the enemy's advancing troops could still be brought to a halt in front of the Alps, when the news of the invasion replaced the spreading lethargy with extreme internal mobilization. It was believed with a certain relief that this event would finally bring the decisive step closer to peace – one way or another. The fascist leadership itself had steered thinking in this direction, albeit with the premonition that this end could only be a "German" victory.

The rejection of Walther Arndt's plea for clemency came at a moment when the fascist leadership demanded the utmost concentration on the military battle in the West. i;:>The prisoner sentenced to death, who was known for certain to have long since considered the war lost for the crumbling fascist power bloc, had less chance of survival at that moment than he had before June 6.

The Berlin scientist spent the eighteen days remaining to him between the decision to execute him and its execution on death row. All that is known about his occupation there is which books he used as reading material. It is uncertain and improbable that certain news about the events of the war and

their effect on the majority of Germans. Otherwise he could have known that the realization or even the feeling of the approaching military defeat was particularly strong among the population during these few weeks. Without naming things in full detail, the SO report of June 28, 1944, two days after Arndt's death, noted : "As a result of the lack of news about the visible effect of the retaliation weapon, as well as the heavy fighting on the invasion front and the start of the new Soviet offensive, a far-reaching deterioration in the mood is noticeable in all sections of the population. "¹⁵ Some had already predicted that the Soviet army would advance as far as East Prussia during this attack. In fact, the offensive in the middle section of the front meant that the fascist Eastern Army was on the verge of a defeat even greater in scale than that of Stalingrad.

Arndt could not be snatched from the executioners. Less than a year before the liberation of Germany from Hitler's fascism, zoology lost one of its capacities and the University of Berlin lost one of its scholars of distinction, whose memory it honors.

¹⁵ *Boberach*, p.6614.

KURT ÜOSSWEILER

July 20 and the theory of fascism

I

July 20, 1944 is a decisive event in the history of fascist Germany, and at the same time a striking one in the history of resistance against the Hitler regime. Great attention is rightly paid to this event on its anniversaries.

There are few other commemorative days in German history that so strikingly illustrate how current needs lead to new questions being asked of history from decade to decade and how different sides of the same event are illuminated more strongly than in the past.

This became particularly clear on the 40th anniversary of July 20. It came at a time when, more than ever before - in view of the prospect of the annihilation of humanity through nuclear war - the unity of all was needed to preserve peace and end the war.

- of the nuclear arms race and the establishment of a coalition of reason and realism have become a compelling necessity. It is therefore only natural that the commemoration of July 20¹ was dominated by the question of what insights and lessons this date can teach us in order to "build a coalition of reason that transcends class boundaries, that stands in the way of the armament madness and hegemonic ambitions of certain circles of US imperialism and preserves peace".²

The new questions and aspects mean "not at all . . . that we necessarily see the aspects emphasized then differently today"³ or that the old questions have become superfluous or anachronistic.

One of the most important of these old questions, but one that has not yet been sufficiently examined, is the significance of the July 20 assassination attempt for the theory of fascism. What does this complex of events tell us about the character of the fascist regime in Germany?

For the prevailing bourgeois historiography, July 20th is a clear, irrefutable confirmation of their view that the fascist regime in

¹ The colloquium of July 18, 1984, organized by the Historians' Society of the GDR and the Central Institute for History of the AdW of the GDR, is particularly noteworthy here: "The Place of July 20, 1944 in the History of the German Anti-Fascist Resistance Struggle". The materials of this colloquium are published in the "Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen" 1985/1-11 of the Historikergesellschaft der DDR.

² From the closing words of the President of the Historians' Society of the GDR, Heinrich Scheel, at the above-mentioned colloquium, in: Ibid., p. 142.

³ Ibid.

Germany and elsewhere is the dictatorship of the fascist party and its leader over all classes and strata of society. For if fascism – so they argue – was only the tool of the ruling class, its leader only its executor, as the Marxists claim, then it is completely incomprehensible why it was not possible for the ruling class to simply put this tool out of its hands and simply dismiss this leader after he was no longer useful to it, but stood in the way of a solution in line with its interests, namely a timely end to the war.

In fact, this raises a question to which, in my opinion, no adequate answer has yet been given. Such an answer can only be found by seeking an explanation for the behavior of the ruling class and its various groupings towards the fascist leadership in their interests and the actual or supposed decision-making options that remained open to them in view of the course of the war and the domestic political problems.

However, such an investigation encounters obstacles that are difficult to overcome. As easy as it is to determine the objective interest of the leading forces of German imperialism given the respective circumstances, it is equally difficult to ascertain the corresponding statements or even actions from the ranks of these leaders. What was said or done in these circles about and for the removal of Hitler from the leadership only came to light, if at all, through the interrogations of the actors of July 20th and through records that fell into the hands of the fascist henchmen; and historians only have access to what has been published or can still be viewed in the archives.

If you read through this material, you soon notice a strange circumstance: Although the statements of those arrested and the documents found contain quite a few references to connections between the conspirators and top managers of German monopoly capital, the fascist investigative bodies either did not continue their investigations in this direction at all or, if they did in isolated cases, very soon stopped them again. Here are just a few, but very characteristic examples. It is well known that after his arrest, Carl Goerdeler made "extraordinarily far-reaching statements to the fascist inquisitors, which, among other things, incriminated numerous people in important positions in public life"⁴; even Gerhard Ritter could not help but note that Goerdeler "turned out to be an afterthought".⁵ source of information for the Gestapo, the efficiency of which was astonishing".⁵ As a result and through other sources it became known that Goerdeler had close contacts with various and that Julius Leber saw him as a "man of big industry".⁶ The Gestapo knew that leading men of the Stuttgart Bosch Group and the Krupp Group had legalized his trips abroad, which served to establish contacts with middlemen to the British government, as trips on their behalf. It was also aware that the Krupp director Löser, with his consent as finance minister for

⁴ *Mirror image of a conspiracy.* The Kaltenbrunner reports to Bormann and Hitler about the assassination attempt of

20 JuÜ 1 944. Geheime Dokumente aus dem ehemaligen Reichssicherheitshauptamt, published by Archiv Peter für historische und zeitgeschichtliche Dokumentation, Stuttgart 1 961 (henceforth: *Kaltenbrunner-Berichte*), S. 232.

⁵ *Gerhard Ritter, Carl Goerdeler and the German Resistance Movement*, Stuttgart 1956, p. 417.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 391.

a future Goerdeler government was planned. This should have prompted the special commission investigating the conspiracy to interrogate and judge the big business backers of the conspiracy just as rigorously as the conspirators themselves. But nothing of the sort happened. Löser was arrested and questioned, but not sentenced to death, unlike smaller industrialists such as Walter Cramer, and numerous industrial syndicates such as Lejeune-Jung, syndic in the cellulose industry and, like Löser, intended to be minister (for economics) in a Goerdeler government, or the landowner Wentzel-Teutschenthal. Hans Walz, at the head of the company after Robert Bosch's death (March 1942), was apparently left completely in the dark; at any rate, his name does not appear in the reports on the investigation by the special commission as one of those questioned, although he was privy to the conspiracy and promoted it.⁷

The Gestapo was also aware that Goerdeler often appeared at meetings of the so-called Reusch Circle, a circle of high-ranking industrialists from the Rhineland and Westphalia, where he presented his views on the situation. In November 1943, in the presence of Paul Reusch, the long-time general director of the Haniel Group, he spoke of the need to remove Hitler from the leadership in order to reach an understanding with the Anglo-Saxons against the Russians.⁸ Although death sentences were handed down to lesser people in similar cases because they had not reported such statements, nothing of the sort happened to Paul Reusch. The director of the Deutsche Bank, Oswald Roesler, and the board member of the Allgemeine Deutsche Kreditgesellschaft, Schoen von Wildeneck, were also temporarily arrested as accomplices to Goerdeler's putsch plans. However, the special commission was clearly not at all eager to find out more about the future plans in the boardrooms of the major industrial and banking groups. Roesler and v. Wildeneck, as the report on their interrogation states, "credibly denied any knowledge of Goerdeler's plans" and were soon released at the request of the Chief Reich Prosecutor.⁹ On this occasion, Deutsche Bank director Roesler received numerous congratulations, including from one of the most prominent Nazi industrialists, Albert Pietzsch, who wrote to him on December 13, 1944: "I am delighted to learn from a communication from the Supervisory Board of Deutsche Bank that you have now taken up your duties. We were all convinced that the result of the investigation could not be any different..."¹⁰

In fact, if captains of industry were exceptionally captured by the SD's investigative bodies, the result of the investigation could be

There was an invisible barrier before which the death machinery of the fascist regime had to stop. A corresponding signal to stop was given, for example, by the written instruction to limit the use of "aggravated interrogation", i.e. torture to extort confessions, to a certain group of people, namely "Communists, Marxists, Bible Students, saboteurs, terrorists, members of the resistance movement, parachute agents, asocials, political prisoners, and the like".

⁷ *Theodor Heuss*, Robert Bosch. Leben und Leistung, Stuttgart and Tübingen 1946, p. 707.

⁸ *Kaltenbrunner Reports*, p. 550ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 558 f.

¹⁰ ZStAP, Deutsche Bank files 5961/35.

nische oder sowjetische Arbeitsverweigerer oder Bummelanten"¹¹. Captains of industry generally did not fall into any of these categories, not even that of "members of the resistance movement", because even if they were not only accomplices, but even instigators of activities such as Goerdeler's, they remained aloof from these activities themselves: the principle of the division of labor between business and politics was strictly adhered to, especially in such undertakings.

In other words, the top executives of the major banking and industrial monopolies were taboo for the Gestapo. This is the decisive reason why, although we know quite precisely about the motives and actions of the conspirators, we have only very vague information about the ideas and actions of the "economic leaders".

The reason for our limited knowledge lies in a fact that does not at all support the thesis of those who would have us believe that Hitler, as an all-powerful dictator, subjected all classes and social strata equally to his tyranny.

In our investigation of the relationship of the ruling class to the fascist regime after the turnaround in the course of the war, since there could no longer be any doubt that the war could no longer be won militarily¹², we can therefore only rely on reliable research findings on two problem areas: on the one hand, on the known facts about the 20th of July and, on the other, on the results of the relatively recent research on post-war planning and the survival strategy of circles and institutions of the German monopoly bourgeoisie in the last years and months of the fascist dictatorship. On the other hand, on the results of relatively recent research on post-war planning and the survival strategy of circles and institutions of the German monopoly bourgeoisie in the last years and months of the fascist dictatorship.¹³

However, these facts alone do not allow a coherent, clearly outlined picture to be drawn. In addition, an attempt must be made to trace the internal connections by reconstructing the objective interests of the German ruling class at that time; in order to minimize the possibility of subjective misinterpretations, it is also useful not only to focus on the years 1943–1945, but also to look back in order to trace the path and its most important stages that led to July 20th.

II

A situation in which the representative of the state and supreme warlord becomes an obstacle to the timely termination of a war that can no longer be won was not a first for the imperialist German bourgeoisie.¹⁴ In the First World War, it was Wilhelm II whose timely resignation the German monopoly lords and the most insightful generals sought to achieve, about which the Kaiser complained bitterly in a letter of November 3, 1918 to a confidant¹⁵: "Everything was already so nicely divided up, completely

¹¹ From the instructions of Gestapo chief Müller dated June 12, 1942, quoted from: *20. Juli 1944*, published by the Bundes

zentrale für Heimatdienst, 4th edition, Bonn 1961, p. 19 7.

¹² See *Olaf Groehler*, 1944: The Crisis of German Fascism. Fascist agony and post-war planning, in: *ZfG* 7/1984, p. 588.

¹³ *Ibid.* There is also information on further literature on post-war planning.

¹⁴ *Jochim Petzold*, Die Absetzung Wilhelms II, in: *Zeitschrift für Militärgeschichte*, 3/19 67, p. 29 8 1T.

¹⁵ - *Eugen Schiffer*, A Life for Liberalism, Berlin–Grunewald 1951, p. 136f.

Belgium, northern France, etc. The heavy industry had already put a stop to everything, and now it's suddenly different, and now of course they're ranting as if it were my fault. And the Rhein. Heavy Industry . . . is now negotiating with the Entente, better a good peace without me than a less good one with me - they throw me away.... And I'm telling you, if the slightest thing happens, I'll write their answer on the pavement with machine guns, even if I shoot up my own castle; but let there be order!"

Even then, it was not possible to get rid of the troublesome man in time; only when the wave of revolution reached Berlin did the generals get their act together and explain to the unruly man that the army was no longer behind him and that he had to resign.

If it was already difficult for the ruling class to "simply" give the Supreme Warlord a pass when he became obstructive, it was even more difficult with Hitler. The illegal regional leadership of the KPD pointed this out in its document of June 1944 "At the beginning of the last phase of the war", which states :

"But in view of the inevitable military defeat of German fascism, all the advantages that the fascist system has so far offered finance capital are beginning to turn into disadvantages, without those who brought Hitler simply being able to send him away again today."¹⁶

Why couldn't they do it, what was the difficulty now? We have already mentioned the explanation of bourgeois historians and publicists, which found its vivid expression in the memorable image of "**riding** the tiger": Those who ride the tiger run the risk of being mauled by the beast as they dismount. This was the situation of the German bourgeoisie when it wanted to separate itself from Hitler and his regime. What is meant by this is that Hitler's regime of terror was able to violently thwart any attempt by the ruling class to drop him.

Now it is certainly true that in 1944 Hitler had much greater opportunities to do what Wilhelm II threatened to do in his impotent rage in 1918 in order to hold on to power. But it is just as certain that the Wehrmacht, if it had been deployed by a determined leadership against the Nazi-fascist formations, could have dealt with them in a short time. The proof was delivered in Paris on July 20, 1944. The difficulty was therefore not the superior strength of the Waffen SS and other Nazi formations at Hitler's disposal; there was no such superiority. Rather, it was the impossibility of getting the Wehrmacht leadership to act in a unified, cohesive manner. This impossibility cannot be explained by a fear of confrontation with the SS: how could they have been afraid of defeating an inferior opponent, since they had been constantly occupied with dealing with equally strong or even superior opponents in times of peace and war? Moreover, there was sufficient evidence that Himmler was prepared to go along with the conspirators, at least in such a way that he dissuaded his SS from acting to protect Hitler. As early as the spring of 1941, Himmler had a confidant ask the Swiss diplomat C. J. Burckhardt whether England was prepared to work with him, Himmler, instead of Hitler.

¹⁶ *At the beginning of the last phase of the war.* A new, significant document from the illegal struggle in Germany, in : BzG 3/1979, p. 410. See also *Deutschland im zweiten Weltkrieg*, by a collective of authors under the direction of Wolfgang Schumann, vol. 6, Berlin 1985, p. 290.

would make peace.¹⁷ And on July 25, 1943, Goerdeler wrote in a draft letter for Field Marshal Kluge : "If you wish, I can also make Mr. Goebbels or Mr. Himmler your allies, because these two men have long since understood that they are doomed with Hitler."¹⁸ Although Goerdeler's assurances of this kind may have involved a great deal of exaggeration¹⁹ , in order to overcome Kluge's anger, there can be no doubt about Himmler's willingness to abandon Hitler in order to save his own skin.

So why did most generals, and no less most general directors, shy away from taking decisive action to remove Hitler from the leadership?

The reason for this is simple enough: as much as Hitler was an obstacle to the initiation of official negotiations with the Western powers, he was indispensable for internal use. If terror was the main means of liquidating the active anti-fascists and keeping the passive dissatisfied in the passivity of fear, Hitler was the main means of integration that kept the majority of the people in blind faith in the "Führer" and thus in a state of willless allegiance according to the Nazi slogan "Führer, command, we follow you!". Alongside terror, Hitler was therefore the most effective rampart to protect the ruling class from what it feared most – even more than military defeat and unconditional capitulation: a second 1918, the revolution. But Hitler had also become the most important and strongest factor for internal stability, for maintaining the German people's readiness for war and their morale. The interest in preserving this morale and calm on the "home front" required the preservation of the effect of the Hitler myth, even and even more so after the turnaround in the course of the war, when confidence in the leadership at the front and at home was severely strained by the uninterrupted string of defeats. Not only Hitler's vanity and ambition, but also the "reason of state" needed scapegoats for the defeats in the form of "incompetent" generals who were sent into the desert as first *Brauchitsch*.

Hitler remained indispensable, no longer as the guarantor of victory, but still as the bearer of all hopes for a miracle that could still bring about victory despite everything; he was the man who had miraculously risen from nothing to the summit of an exemplary power, who could therefore also be trusted with the miracle of saving himself and the country from sinking into nothingness.

As long as the majority of the people clung to the hope of Hitler, the rulers were protected from seeking a way out through their own actions, they were shielded from the danger of a repetition of November 18. But at the same time, Hitler was the decisive obstacle to negotiating a peace with the Western powers as long as Germany still had something to throw into the balance: military and economic strength and huge occupied territories as bargaining chips.

¹⁷ *Ritter*, Goerdeler, p. 428.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 61 5.

¹⁹ Goerdeler claimed in the same letter : "Today I can still declare that I can bring you, General Field Marshal, and any other general determined to take the necessary action, the overwhelming majority of German workers, German civil servants and the German economy." (*Ibid.*)

m

In this dilemma, the conflicting interests within the ruling class had to be reflected in conflicting tendencies in the search for a way out. Broadly speaking, three variants of imperialist attitudes can be identified in the face of impending defeat²⁰ :

First option: The most important thing is to prevent a revolution. Any action against Hitler entails the risk of a dam breaking with unforeseeable consequences, so it is better to go all the way with Hitler. Whatever the outcome of the war, the unnatural coalition of the Western powers with the Soviet Union must sooner or later break up because of its internal contradictions, and all the more quickly the greater the successes of the Red Army and the closer it comes to the German border.

Germany will always be indispensable to the Western powers as a bulwark against Bolshevism. Therefore, even an unconditional surrender is preferable to action against Hitler with the risk of a revolutionary uprising, because this would hardly end as smoothly as the November Revolution a second time : at that time there was no Communist Party, and the Soviet Union had to accept the Brest Dictate for the sake of survival. Now, however, the KPD is the only *organized* opposing force, and the Red Army would stand on German soil as the victorious power. A revolution would therefore almost certainly be the end of capitalism in Germany, while capitulation with the help of the Western powers would only be a defeat with the chance of a new beginning. Therefore, the only way to make the Western powers inclined to negotiate was to increase military efforts in order to make them realize that the continuation of the war would also demand an enormous blood toll from them. If, however, a situation should arise in which Hitler is no longer there and the way is opened for negotiations with the Western powers, then this would of course be a very desirable opportunity which must be seized without fail. However, we must not wait for that. A survival strategy for the time after the war must be developed now.

This was roughly the position taken by some of the German monopolists and, of course, by the official institutions – e.g. the Reich Industry Group, the Reich Ministry of Economics and the Speer Ministry. Evidence of this can be seen in the post-war plans that have since been uncovered and have already been mentioned.²¹

Second variant: Of course, the prevention of revolution is the most important thing. But at the same time we must not abandon the attempt to save as much as possible of what was conquered in the war and of military power through an understanding with the Western powers. We must take advantage of the Western powers' interest in the Russians being given a way into Europe and offer to throw the entire military might of the German Reich onto the Eastern Front in return for renouncing unconditional surrender and for a peace that leaves Germany as an independent power with borders that enclose all Germans or as many of them as possible in Central Europe. This cannot be achieved with Hitler. Therefore a way must be found,

²⁰ Cf. also the assessment of the regional leadership of the KPD in its aforementioned appeal (Note 16; see also *Finker/Busse*, Stauffenberg, Berlin 1984 p. 171 f.); Cf. also *Wolfgang Schumann*, Die Industrie und der 20. Juli 1944, in : *Wiss. Mitt.* 1985/1–11, p. 77 ff.

²¹ See note 1 2.

Hitler from the top, whether by the Italian route, by arrest and deposition, or by assassination. Whatever the method, it must be ensured that the change at the top takes place abruptly and with lightning speed so as not to leave a power vacuum for even a second. The soldiers and the population must not find out about this until the new government has already been installed. Any movement from below must be prevented and it must be ensured that the instructions and orders from above are followed unconditionally. This is all the more necessary as the war must continue in the East in any case and in the West at least until negotiations begin.

Action against Hitler is of course risky. It can only succeed if the military leadership, at least well-known and popular army leaders, go along with it, and it can only be set in motion if the Western powers give assurances beforehand that a government without Hitler will not demand unconditional surrender, but will negotiate a peace of understanding with it.

The formulation of such a concept, which of course changed over the course of the war but remained fundamentally the same, can be found above all in Carl Goerdeler's numerous memoranda.²²

For Goerdeler himself and other participants in the conspiracy, however, the unsuccessfulness of the attempts to achieve the hoped-for withdrawal of the demand for "unconditional surrender" led to a temporary move towards the third variant.

This *third variant* was the so-called Western Solution. It envisaged opening up the front in the west in order to allow the troops of the Western Allies to advance quickly and unhindered to the east, so that they could beat the Red Army to the occupation of Germany and, above all, Berlin.²³ In essence, this "solution" meant an undeclared unconditional surrender to the Western powers, with the war against the Soviet Union being intensified. This variant was advocated among the conspirators by Schacht and his confidant, the double agent Hans Bernd Gisevius. Gisevius, Rudolf Diels' rival as head of Göring's Prussian Secret State Police in 1933, had been vice consul and counterintelligence agent at the German Consulate General in Zurich since 1943 and was also an agent of the American Office of Strategy Service (OSS), which was headed by Allan Dulles. Dulles, who had been based in Bern, Switzerland, since the end of 1942 in order to establish a network of agents in Europe from there, used Gisevius to win over the conspirators for the "Western Solution".²⁴

This solution appeared to Goerdeler and others in July 1944 to be the only possible one left. Gerhard Ritter wrote: "The opposition leaders were now almost ready to accept the formula of 'unconditional submission' to the Western powers

. . . Obviously, not only was an armistice with a shortening of the Western Front
. . . but rather a kind of unification of German and Anglo-Saxon armed forces -

²² For reasons of space, it is not necessary to quote from the relevant memoranda. Reference is only made to the Goerdeler book by Gerhard Ritter and the Stauffenberg study by Finker/Busse.
proven.

²³ Ritter, Goerdeler, p. 393f.

²⁴ Hans Bernd Gisevius, *Bis zum bitteren Ende*, vol. 2, Hamburg 1947, p. 234 ff.; Allan Welsh Dulles, *Verschöpfung in Deutschland*, Zurich 1948.

at least an immediate occupation of the whole of Germany from the west, before the Red armies had overrun Poland and reached the eastern borders of the Reich. "

The imperialist, class-egoistic character of this concept, which was completely indifferent to the lives of the soldiers who were to be burned in the war against the Soviet Union, because its sole focus was the preservation of capitalist property, is obvious. Nevertheless, of all three, this option corresponded least of all to what most German monopolists considered expedient at the time. They were not prepared to give up all their fistfuls of occupied territory and military power without any consideration; even among the conspirators, Schacht and Gisevius were viewed with suspicion and mistrust because of their propagation of surrender to the Americans, for better or worse, and were kept away from the core of the conspiracy.

So much for the three variants of an imperialist response to the threat of defeat. However, it is well known that there were also other than imperialist responses among the conspirators.

These were the aspirations and ideas that were not primarily concerned with the preservation of capitalist property relations, but with the elimination of a regime of crime, the quickest possible end to the war and the creation of a new, more socially just and humane post-war order in Germany. These directions, which can be outlined by the officers' circle around Colonel Claus Graf Schenk von Stauffenberg and the Kreisau Circle, have been made known to us through several publications, so that it is not necessary to explain their concept in detail.

In his keynote speech at the above-mentioned conference on the 40th anniversary of the On the occasion of July 20, Kurt Finker posed the question: "Was the July 20 conspiracy a movement within the ruling class to seek a way out of the lost war of aggression, or was it the attempt of a group within the ruling class to consistently break with the suicidal war policy and thus also open up possibilities for an alliance with anti-fascist popular forces?"²⁷ Finker himself did not give an explicit answer to this question.

Nor can this question be answered as an either/or question, but only as a both/and question. The conspiracy did not have a uniform character; on the part of the Goerdeler group, however, it was conceived and designed as an attempt at an imperialist, anti-Soviet, revolution-preventing way out²⁸, but by the patriotic forces around Stauffenberg and the Kreisau Circle as an attempt to save Germany from catastrophe by liberating it from the Hitler clique and the Nazi regime with the aim of ending the war and establishing a renewed, socially just, humanistic post-war Germany.

Due to the ambivalent nature of the conspiracy, it is impossible to make a definite statement.

²⁵ Ritter, Goerdeler, p. 394 ; see also *ibid.* p. 407.

²⁶ Here are just a few examples: Kurt Finker, Der Platz des 20. Juli 1944 in der Geschichte des deutschen antifaschistischen Widerstandskampfes, in : Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen 1985/1-11, p. 5 ff. ; Finker/Busse, Stauffenberg ; Kurt Finker, Graf Moltke und der Kreisauer Kreis. Berlin 1978; Olaf Groehler, Hitlerwehrmacht und Offiziersopposition, in : Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen 1985/1-11, p. 86ff.

²⁷ Finker, Der Platz des 20. Juli 1944, p. 6.

²⁸ *Germany in the Second World War*, vol. 6, p. 284 f.

It is impossible to say which concept would have prevailed after a successful assassination attempt.

But what is certain is that "the success of the military uprising will affect large sections of the people.

and would have made the conditions much more favourable for the struggle of the anti-imperialist, democratic forces with the KPD in the lead".²⁹ The Communists therefore welcomed the deed of 20 July as soon as it became known. "We don't know who all the men were who acted against Hitler," said Anton Ackermann on the radio station "Freies Deutschland" on July 21, and he continued: "But we don't ask about that either. Whoever fights against Hitler, whoever wants to overthrow this worst enemy of the nation, must have the active support of all honest Germans, all generals, officers and soldiers, the support of the whole nation."³⁰

For quite a few people, the reference to the regime's cruel and bloody reckoning with the conspirators is an impressive argument for the claim that July 20th proves that Hitler exercised an unrestricted dictatorship over all sections of the population. On closer inspection, however, this argument also proves to be unsound.

Firstly, it has already been shown at the outset that the arbitrary terror of Himmler's black henchmen and torturers had its very definite limits, through which the representatives of big capital were removed from their grasp.

Secondly, however, the wave of terror that rolled over Germany after the assassination attempt and is usually portrayed solely as an outgrowth of Hitler's thirst for revenge, or at best as Himmler's rage, actually served what the monopolists were most concerned about: preventing the stirring of the people triggered by the assassination attempt from becoming the starting point of a shake-up of the regime, a breakthrough of the dams of power.

For in view of the successful opening of the second front and the further advance of the Red Army, the assassination had to be recognized in wide circles of the German people as an admission of inevitable defeat, there was an acute danger of the collapse of morale, the danger of a broadening of resistance to the continuation of the war, in short: the beginning of a development similar to that which had begun in 1917 in the army and in the hinterland and reached its climax in November 1918.

It was not only the Nazi clique that was threatened by this danger. In view of the strength and proximity of the Red Army, the rulers had to fear **that** a revolution in Germany would no longer end with a defeat of the workers as in 1918, but would liquidate the capitalist order in Germany once and for all. In the situation that had arisen, this danger could only be countered by the extreme intensification of the use **of** precisely those means that had already proved most effective before the assassination attempt – terror and the Hitler myth.

It was therefore in the interests of both the German imperialists and the Nazi clique to tell the people that the conspirators were just a small group of dishonorable traitors to the fatherland and criminals, and to make a cruel example of them in order to achieve maximum intimidation and deterrence. Incidentally, Hitler and Himmler's murder orders had not even been necessary to make the

²⁹ *Finker*, Der Platz des 20. Juli 1944, p. 24.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

Their "comrades" began to liquidate the conspirators on their own initiative. Even before Himmler had arrived in Berlin on the evening of July 20, Stauffenberg's superior, the commander of the reserve army, General Fromm, had arrested Colonel Beck, Colonel Mertz von Quirnheim, General Olbricht. Lieutenant von Haeften and Colonel Stauffenberg were arrested and the latter four were hastily shot in the courtyard of the Bendlerblock, while he put a pistol in Beck's hand, as this would put an end to his own life. Just as the Wehrmacht leadership had approved the assassination of Generals v. Schleicher and v. Bredow in 1934, it now handed over the officers involved in the conspiracy to Freisler's blood court by issuing a

"Court of Honor" was formed, which expelled those concerned from the Wehrmacht.

The clearest proof that the wave of terror was by no means just a campaign of revenge against the conspirators, but an action with the aim of securing the system, aimed above all at decapitating the workers' movement, was the wave of arrests and murders in July and August 1944, culminating in "Aktion Gitter" on August 22³¹.

The fact that the leaders of the Communist Party - Ernst Thälmann, Bernhard Bästlein, Anton Saefkow, Franz Jacob, Theodor Neubauer, Ernst Schneller, Albert Kuntz and many others – were not content to be kept behind prison walls and barbed wire, but were systematically and physically liquidated, shows most clearly that the aim was not only to protect the Nazi regime from its most implacable enemies, but also to make provisions for the time after Hitler.

The flip side of the increased terror was the fanning of the irrational belief in the miracle-working leader.

In order to cushion the blow that the "final victory" belief had received from the assassination attempt, the failure of the attack was used to make the Hitler myth even more effective than before for the continuation of the war. Hitler's supposedly miraculous rescue was presented by the propaganda as visible proof that the "providence" had still destined Hitler for great things. Anyone who had escaped death in such a miraculous way could also be trusted to turn a seemingly hopeless military situation around and achieve victory for the German people at the last minute.

IV

If we look at July 20, 1944 from the point of view of fascism theory, then we must assume that we are dealing with an event in the final phase of German fascism under extreme conditions, that we are dealing with German imperialism's search for a way to survive from defeat.³²

What exactly these extreme conditions consisted of is perhaps clearest of all,

³¹ *Germany in the Second World War*, vol. 6, p. 295.

³² *Olaf Groehler/Wolfgang Schuman, From War to Post-War. Problems of military strategy and politics of Fascist German Imperialism in the Final Phase of the Second World War*, in : *Jahrbuch für Geschichte* 26, *Studien zur Geschichte des Faschismus und des antifaschistischen Widerstandes* (1), ed. by Dietrich Eichholtz and Klaus Mammach, Berlin 1982, p. 276.

if we compare this final phase with that of Italian fascism, the conditions of the end for German imperialism with those of Italian imperialism.

The astonishing ease with which the Italian "leader", Mus solini, could be removed from power is usually explained by the fact that he still had the king above him, who had the right to appoint and dismiss the prime minister. But questions of constitution are, as we know, questions of power. If the king had not had the army behind him, his constitutional right would have been of very little use to him. And vice versa: if the German military leaders had been convinced to the same extent as their Italian colleagues that the dictator had to go, then they could have dealt with the "Führer" in exactly the same way as they did with the "Duce".

One must therefore delve deeper if one wants to get to the bottom of the causes for the different course of the final phase of German and Italian fascism. First and foremost, the differences in the economic, political and military strength of German and Italian imperialism must be mentioned here, as well as those of the situation from which each of them brought fascism to power. Italian imperialism - the imperialism of a middle power whose expansionism

The fact **that** fascism could only assume regional proportions — brought fascism to power in October 1922 in order to emerge from its crisis-ridden post-war weakness.

German imperialism brought fascism to power **after** it had overcome its post-war weakness in the Weimar Republic, had once again become number two economically in the world of capital and was now striving to become number one in every respect through a new, better-prepared armed campaign. Its drive for expansion was therefore global, which meant that the discrepancy between its goal and its possibilities was much greater than in Italy. In Germany, therefore, the task of fa schism was to bridge this gap between ability and will to a much greater extent than in Italy by brutally eliminating all resistance to war preparations and war and by ruthlessly concentrating all the nation's sources of strength on this one goal: the fastest possible preparation for war, the maximum use of all national potential for war. This was the decisive reason why in no other country under fascism was terror practised so extremely, cruelly and effectively, and the cult of the leader as a means of mass manipulation and mobilization was carried out so excessively to the point of deifying the man at the top as in Germany.

However, the Italian monopoly bourgeoisie not only had no need to build Mussolini up into a superhuman messiah figure, it would not even have been able to do so if it had wanted to. Mussolini had come to power too early for that. When the world economic crisis also hit Italy, the fascists, not unlike the bourgeois governments in all other countries, ruthlessly shifted the burden of the crisis onto the working people in the interests of capital. The same world economic crisis that enabled Hitler's rise to become the bearer of hope for many millions of Germans destroyed the illusions of millions of Italians about Mussolini and his party as the creator of a new, just order. Mussolini was therefore unable to play the same role in the war for the Italian monopoly bourgeoisie as Hitler did for the German bourgeoisie.

When it became clear - at the latest after Stalingrad - that she had chosen the wrong ally, there was far less reason for her to be reluctant to surrender than for the German imperialists. In this war, Italy was only the junior partner of the main opponent of the anti-Hitler powers, a junior partner who, the longer the war went on, the more

had sunk to the level of a mere vassal. Although the demand for unconditional surrender was of course also made against him, he could still count on a reward if he broke with Hitler's Germany in time and changed the front.

But this required Mussolini and his Black Shirts to be removed from power. Unlike in Germany, there were no major obstacles to this in Italy. In contrast to Hitler, Mussolini had become a burden for the Italian monopoly bourgeoisie in every respect – not only externally, but also internally. He was no longer a factor in reducing the danger of revolution, but the opposite: as long as he was at the helm, the demands of the masses to overthrow the balance of power would only become more and more urgent and threatening.

On the other hand, the Italian bourgeoisie had far less reason to fear the spread of the resistance movement than the German bourgeoisie: there was no possibility that it would receive support from the Red Army, but they would only have to deal with the Western powers as the victorious occupying power, and they would certainly ensure that there would be no communist takeover – even if the Italian Communist Party had the overwhelming majority of Italians behind it.

This comparative analysis confirms the previous results of the study:

Firstly, Hitler and his party were and remained an instrument of the German imperialists and not their rulers, even in the final phase of the fascist dictatorship.

Secondly, in contrast to Italy, this instrument had become blunt and even obstructive in only one respect, that of external politics; on the other hand, it still fulfilled its most important function in an irreplaceable way, that of holding back the danger of a revolutionary breakthrough.

Thirdly, since the German imperialist bourgeoisie feared revolution more than defeat, with good reason, it remained undecided on the question of eliminating Hitler, vacillating between various possibilities, so that the real determination to take action against Hitler remained limited to the relatively small circle of conspirators, who in turn were left alone by their class and were and remained isolated from the anti-fascist forces among the people.

The real cause of the failure of the July 20th conspiracy lay in this and not in the "All macht Hitlers" claimed by bourgeois historiography.

V

In the final part of his presentation on July 20, 1944, Kurt Finker discussed its significance for the present and remarked: "What had been initiated at the time was a kind of coalition of reason."³³ The word "initiated" must be emphasized three times to avoid making the mistake of projecting something back into the past that would have been necessary at the time but was not yet possible – precisely what we today call a "coalition of reason".

³³ Finker, *The Square of July 20, 1944*, p. 25.

Let us first say what the coalition of reason is *not*, but what it is sometimes taken to be: namely a coalition characterized by the fact that *reason* has triumphed over *interests* among its partners. If this were to be understood, then anyone seeking to bring about such a coalition would be chasing a chimera; it would be tantamount to trying to practice the politics of the impossible instead of the politics of the possible. But that would not be a policy of reason, but of pure unreason.

The Marxists, the most sober of all sober realpolitikers, today for the first time consider a coalition of reason not only necessary - as they did fifty years ago - but also possible.

What is its main content?

First, it is not a coalition between anyone, but a coalition between socialist and imperialist states in the state, framework; a coalition of communists and non-communists or anti-communists in the framework of parties and organizations.

Secondly, this is not a coalition for any purpose, but for the prevention of a world war. Fifty years ago, when the Second World War threatened, **only** the Communists and the Soviet Union were the only state to fight for such a coalition. The communists, by tirelessly advocating the unification of all opponents of the war and anti-fascists in a popular front, the Soviet Union with its proposal for the conclusion of a treaty of collective security by all states interested in maintaining peace. But at that time the communists remained lonely criers in the desert, because there was not only a great distance, but a deep gulf between the dictates of reason and the interests of the ruling circles of the imperialist bourgeoisie. The demand of reason - namely the preservation of peace, the prevention of war - was then as now the fundamental interest of socialism and of all peoples. The interests of those imperialists, on the other hand, amounted to the destruction of the Soviet Union through war.

The leadership of the Soviet Union and the Communist International assessed the situation, with its dangers and opportunities, soberly and realistically.

They put the fight for peace first. From the rostrum of the VII World Congress, Palmiro Togliatti called on all peace-loving people: "Let us join forces! Let us fight together for peace! Let us organize the united front of those who want to defend and maintain peace!"³⁴

However, when weighing up the forces of war and the forces of the opponents, Togliatti came to the conclusion that the preponderance still lay with the forces of war³⁵ and that a war, however it began, would become a war against the Soviet Union,³⁶

³⁴ *Erco/i* (i.e. Palmiro Togliatti), The Preparation of the Imperialist War and the Tasks of the Communist International, speech at the VII World Congress of the Communist International, in : VII Congress of the Communist International. Papers and Resolutions, Berlin 1975, p. 20 2.

³⁵ *Ibid.* p. 223.

³⁶ "There can be no doubt in anyone's mind that the coming war, even if it begins as a war between two great imperialist powers or as a war of some great power against a small country, will inevitably have the tendency to widen and will necessarily lead to a war against the Soviet Union. Every year, every month of delay is a guarantee for us that the Soviet Union will be able to prove a stronger defense against the attack of the imperialists." (*Ibid.*, p. 205.)

is unavoidable.³⁷ Nevertheless, success in the struggle for peace is possible. "Our struggle for peace, in which we rely on the Soviet Union, therefore has every prospect of success. Every month, every week that we win is of great value to humanity."³⁸

Of course, the communists pinned their hopes above all on the struggle of the workers against the war. But Togliatti insisted that the Soviet Union could also find allies in the imperialist camp in its efforts to curb the most aggressive warmongers. "It must be remembered," he said, "that for German National Socialism and Japanese militarism, war against the Soviet Union is not the only goal. They are fighting for their own supremacy. Their invasion of the Soviet Union is for them only one component of the overall plan of expansion and conquest. These plans, which aim at a redivision of the world, clash with the totality of existing interests and sharpen the contradictions among the imperialists not only in Europe but also in the whole world."³⁹ This would lead to a differentiation in the policies of the imperialist superpowers, "some of which are interested in defending the status quo and in a temporary, conditional defense of peace".⁴⁰ From this Togliatti drew the conclusion that the antagonisms between the major imperialist powers "could develop in such a way that at a given moment, under certain conditions, they could prove to a certain extent to be an obstacle to the creation of a new power bloc for war against the Soviet Union. This opens up great possibilities for the Soviet Union's peace policy."⁴¹

By negotiating the conclusion of a treaty on collective security to rein in the aggressor, the Soviet Union took up these possibilities in order to bring the Western powers into a coalition in the interests of maintaining peace, which, had it come about, would have earned the name of a coalition of reason. But the anti-Bolshevik ultras in the Western leadership circles had other plans, plans that Togliatti aptly characterized as follows with regard to England: "It is not difficult to understand that the support given to German fascism by the Diehard circles of the English bourgeoisie is nothing other than support - direct or indirect - in preparation for war against the Soviet Union. English imperialism, and in particular the most reactionary section of the English bourgeoisie . . . regards it as its 'historic' task to deal a mortal blow to the land of socialism . . ."⁴²

So the anti-Hitler coalition did not come about as a coalition of reason, not as a *peace* coalition.

coalition to *prevent* the war, but as a *war coalition* to *bring about* the war.

³⁷ "A new imperialist war for the redivision of the world is not only inevitable, is not only being prepared in every detail by every imperialist power, but can break out from one day to the next and suddenly attack us." (Ercoli at the VII Congress of the CI, quoted from: *Wilhelm Pieck/Georgi Dimitroff/Palmiro Togliatti, The Offensive of Fascism and the Tasks of the Communists in the Struggle for the Popular Front against War and Fascism. Speeches at the VII Congress of the Communist International (1935), Berlin 1957, p. 1 90).*

³⁸ *Ercoli, in : VII Congress of the Communist International, p. 203 .*

³⁹ *Ibid., p. 190.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid., p. 194.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid., p. 192.*

peace, and not as a voluntary alliance with the Soviet Union, but as an alliance with it, into which England suddenly found itself drawn by Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union, and a little later the USA by Japan's attack on Pearl Harbour and the subsequent declaration of war by Germany.

If today a coalition of reason, in contrast to the time before the Second World War war is an achievable goal, it is not because the imperialists have become more reasonable, but because their interests have changed. Even US President Reagan, obsessed with the vision of a war of the stars, had to sign his name in Geneva to the statement that there can be no winners in a nuclear war and that it must not be unleashed. The destructive power of nuclear weapons, and above all the ability of the Soviet Union to respond to every strike with an equally powerful counter-strike, no longer allow all clear-sighted, sober-minded imperialist politicians to harbor the illusions of the 1930s - that socialism could be eliminated from the world by war. The strategic balance achieved by the socialist alliance with imperialism confronts the latter with the alternative of either peaceful coexistence or suicide, either peaceful competition between the two systems or their annihilation in the fire of a nuclear war.

This is indeed the shortest denominator to which the Coalition of Reason can be reduced: a coalition to ensure that the struggle between socialism and imperialism is carried out exclusively by peaceful means, in particular with the strict exclusion of the use of nuclear weapons.

The coalition of reason has thus become an achievable goal, because today there is no longer a gap between the interests of the peoples and of socialism in securing peace and the most urgent imperialist interest, the interest of survival, and the two have come so close that an agreement has become possible.

The most important connection between July 20, 1944 and today's task of fighting for the establishment of a coalition of reason seems to me to be the lesson that a struggle against fascism and war, for the achievement and preservation of peace, can never be successful if it is waged under the sign of anti-communism, but only if it is waged together with the communists and with the socialist states. Stauffenberg and some Kreisauers had come to a conclusion that corresponded to such a realization. Goerdeler, on the other hand, stands as a cautionary and tragic example of how dogged and blind anti-communism can destroy all personal commitment, no matter how courageous and willing to make sacrifices.

EBERHARD POPPE

Democracy, anti-fascism and socialism in the first constitution of the German Democratic Republic

The theme of the Festschrift for Heinrich Scheel — democracy, anti-fascism and socialism in German history - is a welcome opportunity for a constitutional theorist to make some thematic observations on the constitution of the German Democratic Republic of 1949. This constitution in particular deserves the historian's special interest because it is an exemplary demonstration of how continuity and discontinuity, tradition, heritage and social progress, yesterday, today and tomorrow are reflected and anticipated in a constitution that is interwoven in many ways.

The jubilarian himself has contributed profound insights into constitutional and state issues in German history. This makes any detailed justification here superfluous. Heinrich Scheel knows how to define the nature of constitutions, he knows that their legal quality of being the basic law of a state, the law of laws, is primarily derived from their political function of giving concentrated and generally binding legal expression to the will to rule and the aims of the forces that have attained political power.

It may be objected that bourgeois constitutional history - including German constitutional history - knows quite a few constitutions, such as the Paulskirche Constitution of 1849 or the Weimar Constitution of 1919, whose democratic or social promises remained largely unfulfilled and were even misused to achieve reactionary goals. Despite and also because of such events, constitutions are worth studying and comparing as historical or contemporary documents. In the context of the social reality of its time, every constitution, even the unrealized or unfulfilled constitution in essential provisions, provides insights and statements in a broad socio-political spectrum, for example on the power and morality (also double morality) of the ruling class forces, on the rights of the citizen, and not least also on the democratic constitutional positions and legal demands for which the class struggle must be waged in the future.

However, constitutions can also be documents that manifest the social progress achieved and programmatically orientate towards further development, as was characteristic of the constitutions of the revolutionary bourgeoisie and is characteristic of constitutions in or on the way to socialism.

The first constitution of the German Democratic Republic, which was enacted on October 7, 1949 by the Provisional People's Chamber after extensive discussion among the population, was the constitution of a social and state order that was in transition from capitalism to socialism. It was not a bourgeois constitution.

and not yet a socialist one. It was the result of an internal and external political constellation that was characterized

by the reorganization of the three western zones into the **FRG** in May 1949 in breach of the Potsdam Agreement. This systematic policy of division pursued by the Western powers prevented the creation of a unified democratic German state. The all-German constitution could only come **into force** for the territory of the German Democratic Republic;

through the consistent implementation of the Potsdam Agreement in the area of the Soviet occupation zone with the support of the occupying power. The state apparatus, judicial bodies, schools and universities were purged of Nazi forces, and state functionaries, judges, public prosecutors and teachers with ties to the people were appointed. After the referendum in the state of Saxony on June 30, 1946, Nazi and war criminals were expropriated throughout the entire occupation zone and their assets were transferred to public property. The democratic land reform broke up the large Junker estates and transferred them to small farmers, agricultural workers and resettlers.

When the German Democratic Republic was founded in the fifth year after the liberation of the German people from fascism, its constitution was able to take stock of the results of a development against fascism, militarism and monopolism and towards a democracy of the people.

The constitutional document was in line with the principles of the Potsdam Agreement and followed the guidelines that the KPD and SED had drawn up for a democratic German state. It drew on the traditional democratic institutions and regulations of the Paulskirche and Weimar constitutions, but also drew on the historical lessons of their weaknesses in the face of reactionary forces.¹

Categorical anti-fascism and a militant democracy were among the characteristics of the 1949 constitution. Although the creators of the constitution could assume that by the time the **GDR** was founded, the political and economic power positions of German imperialism had been smashed on its territory and thus the breeding ground for fascism and militarism had been removed, the constitution contained explicit anti-fascist, anti-militarist and anti-imperialist provisions:

"Boycott incitement against democratic institutions and organizations, incitement to murder against democratic politicians, manifestations of religious, racial and national hatred, militaristic propaganda, war incitement and all other acts directed against equal rights are crimes within the meaning of the Criminal Code . . . Anyone punished for committing these crimes may not work in the public service or in leading positions in economic and cultural life." (Art. 6)

"The businesses of war criminals and active National Socialists are expropriated and become public property. The same applies to private companies that put themselves at the service of a war policy.

All private monopoly organizations, such as cartels, syndicates, corporations, trusts and similar private organizations are abolished and prohibited.

¹ Cf. **Otto Grotewohl**, *Deutsche Verfassungspläne*, Berlin 1947, p. 25ff.; **Karl Polak**, *Volk und Verfassung*, Berlin 1949.

- Large private estates of more than 100 hectares shall be dissolved and divided without compensation." (Art. 24)
- "No criminal law has retroactive effect.
Excluded are measures and the application of provisions taken to overcome Nazism, fascism and militarism or which are necessary to punish crimes against humanity." (Art. 1 35)
 - "Constitutional freedoms and rights cannot be withheld from the provisions that have been and will be enacted to overcome national socialism and militarism and to redress the wrongs they have caused." (Art. 1 44)

This explicit constitutional commitment to anti-fascism, which — as will be shown - was a prominent aspect of the principled democratic character of this constitution, was based on several motives: although the constitution was only valid for the territory of the GDR, its all-German conception was retained in the sense of the commitment of democratic forces to political engagement to overcome the imperialist policy of division and its consequences. This necessarily included keeping the reckoning with fascism and militarism, which had not been consistently carried out in the Western zones either ideologically or in terms of personnel, on the agenda of the political debate and preventing any legal possibility of restaurative and revanchist forces from the FRG influencing the development of the GDR. This was all the more urgently needed to safeguard peace as both German states shared an open border and West Berlin was increasingly being assigned the function of a "stake in the GDR's flesh", an imperialist diversionary center vis-à-vis the GDR. It should also be noted here that the Basic Law of the FRG passed in May 1949 did not condemn fascism and militarism and their supporters in a single sentence, but did assure in the now infamous Article 131 that the officials of the Nazi state could count on appropriate re-employment or pensions. Hans Globke, the inspirer and commentator of the fascist racial laws, who was sentenced to death by the Supreme Court of the GDR, was one of tens of thousands of beneficiaries of this regulation. He became an intimate and state secretary to Chancellor Adenauer.

However, the anti-fascist constitutional regulations were also motivated by the goal of carrying out the internal democratic re-education and education process of the population, especially the young generation, in active confrontation with the fascist-militarist evil and its consequences, so that the citizens, recognizing their responsibility before history, would consciously help to shape the reconstruction.

While anti-fascism was the essential feature of the constitution, which established the categorical eradication of German fascism and militarism with all its roots and took precautions against any resurgence, it was also an indispensable condition for realizing and safeguarding democracy as the dominant feature of the constitution in the development of the new state. In the democratic conception of the constitution, it was noticeable that, for the first time in German history, a draft constitution had been drawn up by a Marxist-Leninist party and intensively consulted with the organized democratic forces. In addition, the people themselves had the opportunity to shape their future constitution through public discussion. Over 9,000 assemblies, which dealt exclusively with the draft constitution, were held.

were carried out. 503 proposed amendments had to be considered, of the 1 44 articles in the draft, 52 were amended.

Since the party executive committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany presented its draft constitution to the public in November 1946, a democracy conceived largely by the most active and conscious forces of the people, which was not merely an anti-fascist modified bourgeois parliamentary democracy, characterized not only the drafting process but also the content of the constitution itself. Even if it is not possible here to present the democratic content of the constitution in its entirety², some core provisions deserve to be outlined. They show the break with conventional bourgeois standards of democracy, such as the Weimar Constitution, some elements of which have been adopted, and embody an independent concept of democracy that characterized the new anti-fascist-democratic state: Article 3 of the Constitution stipulated that : "All state power emanates from the people." This sentence was already to be found in the Weimar Constitution (Article 1), just as it became the standard for modern bourgeois-republican constitutions after the French Revolution. The obvious discrepancy between this provision and the reality of the bourgeois exercise of power was often glossed over in the Weimar Republic, for example with the statement "All state power emanates from money" or in a Brecht poem "All state power emanates from the people, but where does it go?". ³ For the sovereignty of the people postulated in Article 3 to become a guaranteed reality, two prerequisites were necessary. Firstly, the further constitutional development and safeguarding of this democratic postulate of rule. Secondly, the leadership of the people in their exercise of power by the working class and its party, the class and party that had already been declared on June 11, 1 945 in the "Appeal of the Working Class". June 1 945 in the "Appeal of the Central Committee of the KPD to the German People for the Construction of an Anti-Fascist-Democratic Germany"⁴ presented a clear program of action in the interests of all working people.

The constitution's concept of democracy was expressed not only in the anti-fascism, anti-militarism and anti-imperialism already mentioned, i.e. in the defense against the historically notorious enemies of any democracy of the people, but also in the commitment to unrestricted popular sovereignty as a maxim for the state, economy and citizens in order to secure peace and shape social progress.

The principle of the separation of powers and any particularistic federalism in the state were banned from the constitution. The Volkskammer was given the status of the highest the most important organ of the indivisible democratic republic. It was an authoritative constitutional position that the people could assert their political power uniformly in all areas of state activity and in all parts of the country. Neither the President of the Republic, nor the Government, nor the Supreme Court could paralyze the actions of the highest organ of power formed by the people. On the contrary, their actions were subject to the supervision of the People's Chamber. At the same time, the constitution guaranteed comprehensive social participation and co-determination in the formation of state will and the exercise of power. The sovereignty of the people was not – as in the Basic Law of the FRG – limited to the

² Reference should be made to *Errichtung des Arbeiter-und-Bauern-Staates der DDR 1945-1949*, Autoren kollektiv unter der Leitung von Karl-Heinz Schöneburg, Berlin 1984.

³ *Bertolt Brecht, Drei Paragraphen der Weimarer Verfassung*, in: *Hundert Gedichte*, Berlin 1954, p. 202 ff.

⁴ *History of the State and Law of the GDR. Documents 1945-1949*, Berlin 1984, p. 47 f. The text of the Constitution of the German Democratic Republic of October 7, 1949 is also printed there (p. 258 ff.).

⁵ *Polak*, p. 29 ff.

The right to vote is not reduced to voting in parliamentary elections, but is instead guaranteed as a constantly possible and necessary participation in the exercise of power in diverse democratic activities.

"Every citizen has the right and the duty to participate in shaping his community, his district, his country and the German Democratic Republic. The citizens' right of co-determination is exercised by: Participation in referendums and referendum decisions ; exercise of the right to vote and stand for election ; assumption of public office in administration and jurisdiction." (Art. 3)

In order to ensure democracy in the economy as well, in which private capitalist companies were still active to a considerable extent⁶ , the co-determination of workers and employees through trade unions and works councils was made a constitutional requirement (Art. 17), a uniform labor law of the republic with significant co-determination of the working people was announced (Art. 18) and came into force in April 1950 with the Labor Law. It was no less important for democratic economic organization in the interests of the working people that the constitution established public ownership of all natural resources, all economically usable natural forces and the mining, iron and steel production and energy industries (Art. 25) and threatened expropriation and transfer to public ownership in the event of misuse of private property to the detriment of the common good (Art. 24).

In order to guarantee the rule of the people in the economy as well, the constitution stipulated that the state must draw up the public economic plan with the direct participation of its citizens in order to secure the basis of life and increase their welfare (Art. 21) and must secure work and livelihood for every citizen through economic management (Art. 15).

Realizing and securing democracy was also the premise underlying the regulation of the position of citizens in society. The right and duty of citizens to help shape the state (Art. 3) not only established a fundamental right, but also constitutionally defined and shaped the principle of popular sovereignty as the authority and duty of each individual citizen to participate in the democratic exercise of power. This regulation was entitled "Foundations of state power" in order to emphasize the personal and permanent responsibility of citizens for the shaping of democracy, from which they could not free themselves by merely participating in elections. The constitution additionally emphasized the greatness and permanence of this responsibility for the development of the new, anti-fascist democratic state by entitling and obliging citizens to resist measures that contradicted the decisions of the people's representatives (Art. 4). In order to ensure unimpeded democratic action, the constitution regulated the equal rights of men and women, freedom of opinion, assembly and association, inviolability of the person and home, postal secrecy, freedom of movement and other elementary political and personal rights and freedoms of the individual. There were many external echoes here, e.g. of the catalog of fundamental rights in the Weimar Constitution and

⁶ " In 1950, there were 17,500 capitalist industrial enterprises, which produced around 25 percent of gross industrial output. A quarter of the agricultural land was farmed by 47,557 large-scale farms. So there were still layers of society that were interested in maintaining or re-establishing capitalist conditions. For this reason, some of the entrepreneurs, large farmers and wholesalers were openly opposed to workers' and peasants' power and rejected the leading role of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party." *History of the SED. Abriß*, Berlin 1978, p. 23 1.

Nevertheless, there were fundamental differences. These rights could no longer be misused for fascist and other reactionary activities; they were already defined by the preamble of the constitution as rights to democratic social organization. At the same time, the constitution guaranteed socio-economic rights, the right to work (Art. 15), to rest and care in case of illness and old age (Art. 16), to housing (Art. 26) etc. and thus secured existential prerequisites for free democratic action by citizens.⁷

If democracy was apo strophized here as a defining characteristic of the constitution, it follows from the historical context that the standard of social democracy could not be binding. The all-German objective of the constitutional project, the political alliance also with those forces that were still mentally rooted in bourgeois thinking, demanded compromises in order to achieve and maintain a consensus for the joint creation of an anti-fascist and democratic state. Thus, the constitution also contains regulations and dictions of a bourgeois character, such as the so-called free mandate for members of parliament (Art. 51) instead of clear accountability and responsibility to the voters, local self-government (Section IX) and the public-law status of religious communities (Art. 43).

In line with the general theme of the commemorative publication, the title of this article also refers to socialism in the first constitution of the **GDR**. This is *legi tim* insofar as it is intended to draw attention to possible considerations in this regard. While anti-fascism and democracy could be considered essential features of this first constitution, it would be presumptuous to speak of socialism as an essential feature of the constitution that came into force in 1949. The constitutional text contained neither the term socialism nor any terms derived from it. The constitutional terminology and external structure was based more on democratic elements, in particular the Weimar Constitution. The clarity of the regulations on the class structure of society and the class-based exercise of state power, on the leadership role of the working class and its party and on the economic foundations that characterize a socialist constitution did not exist. In terms of type, the GDR constitution of 1949 was not a socialist constitution. It was a constitution that ensured the continuation of the revolutionary upheaval and paved the way for the construction of socialism.⁸ Acknowledging its clearly progressive tenor and taking into account the class struggles that brought about and realized this constitution, it can be characterized as a constitution on the road to socialism. It declared the successes achieved in the revolutionary class struggle (the realization of popular sovereignty, the creation of public property, the socialization of natural resources and basic industries, the implementation of land, school and judicial reforms), as well as anti-fascism, anti-militarism and anti-imperialism, to be the inviolable foundations of the social and state order. But it was not just a record of what had been achieved, of the social upheavals that had already taken place. Its pro grammatical objectives – the preamble and many individual provisions commanded "to guarantee the freedom and rights of man, to shape community and economic life in social justice, to serve social progress, to promote friendship with all peoples and to secure peace" – gave the constitution a clear and unambiguous formulation.

⁷ Cf. *Grotewohl*, p. 65ff.

⁸ *History of the SED*, p. 22 1.

united working class and its allies the opportunity to work for the construction of socialism on a constitutionally secure basis. This was possible because the content of this first constitution of the German Democratic Republic was designed by its creators as Karl Marx had already demanded in his "Critique of Hegel's Right of the State": ", . . . that progress becomes the principle of the constitution. that the real bearer of the constitution, the people, becomes the bearer of the constitution.⁹ version is made. Progress itself is then the constitution." So the Chairman of the State Council of the GDR, Walter Ulbricht, in preparation of a socialist constitution of the GDR on December 1, 1967 before the People's Chamber: "The constitution of 1949 has served us and our socialist German state well in advancing towards a happy future and in establishing the foundations of socialism."¹⁰

⁹ *MEW*, vol. I, Berlin 1958, p. 259.

¹⁰ Cf. *Constitution of the German Democratic Republic - Documents/Commentaries*, vol. I, Berlin 1969, S. 43.

Language and Historiography

In the scholarly investigation of historical processes, linguistic facts repeatedly prove to be valuable points of reference, as they appear both as an indicator and as a factor in social conflicts. "In the way in which speakers and writers use language, how they make a selection from the vocabulary of their time or which new conditions and evaluations, including emotional and voluntary connotations, they give to the words they use in the concrete context, the essence of a historical situation, an emerging tendency, even the self-understanding of the class forces can be recognized."¹ The extent to which it is possible to shed light on the complex phenomena associated with the respective source language depends on a precise and at the same time far-reaching grasp of it. Recent insights and methods of communication linguistics can provide valuable and ultimately indispensable assistance in this regard.

However, modern historical research not only has to acquire the necessary linguistic knowledge to study the respective source language, but is also faced with the task of gaining clarity about its own language, i.e. thinking both about its forms of representation and about the necessity and nature of its own specialized vocabulary. It is therefore no coincidence that the importance of language for historical research has recently come under increased scrutiny. At the XV International Congress of Historians in Bucharest in 1980, for example, the theme of a plenary session was "The language of the historian". However, as the individual contributions documented, this topic proved to be quite ambiguous and ultimately led to various problem areas.²

The problem of the linguistic representation of historical knowledge goes back to classical antiquity. It was often linked to the development of the literary arts. And the fact that the most important historians of the past centuries are always also treated by literary history is probably symptomatic. Significantly, in recent times the historian's specialist terminology has increasingly become a subject of academic discussion. The need for

¹ *Albrecht Neubert, Sprache und Geschichte – Sprache in geschichtlicher Sicht und historischer Wandel im Lichte der Sprache*, in : *Festvorträge der wissenschaftlichen Konferenz der Akademie anlässlich des 275. Akademiejubiläums, Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Gesellschaftswissenschaften 3 G*, Berlin 1975, p. 25.

² Cf. *XV' Congres international des sciences historiques*, Bucharest 1980, vol. I, p. 397 1T.

greater precision in the formation of terms and, in connection with this, the adoption of terms from the systematic social sciences played an important role. This shows more than ever how closely historiographical terminology is linked to the formation of historical theory. The greater penetration of technical terms does not necessarily have to conflict with the efforts of historiography, which is geared towards raising the awareness of broad sections of the population, to present what has been newly developed through research in a vivid and effective way. It always depends on how the relevant terms are introduced and explained. Moreover, it seems advisable for a historiography aiming at a broad impact to use such terms only sparingly, i.e. only where this is absolutely unavoidable. What seems appropriate for specialized monographs with regard to specialist terminology does not apply to the same extent to historical works with a broad impact.

Numerous traditional historiographical terms can be derived from source-language expressions. W. Küttler rightly emphasized at the XV „International Congress of Historians that such source terms, which often appear as catchwords "often arise from the theoretical knowledge of the time" and reflect "the content of certain specialist languages".³ In fact, there is a long series of historiographical terms that were once key words in the ideological struggles of the past and embodied conceptual nodes. In particular, self-designations of social forces or catchy apostrophes of the opponent sometimes met with considerable resonance, spread rapidly and later offered themselves to the historian as organizing terms. However, the definition of the content of such terms still shows considerable differences today, depending on the ideological and methodological position taken, primarily due to the associated evaluation. Even a cursory glance at the history and current meaning of terms such as "enlightenment", "communism", "liberalism", "patriotism", "reaction", etc. makes this clear.

Since the end of the 19th century, individual linguists, literary historians and historians have researched and presented the history of such key words and catchwords. We need only mention R. M. Meyer's work "Vierhundert Schlagworte" (Leipzig 1900), O. Ladendorf's "Historisches Schlagwörterbuch" (Strasbourg/Berlin 1906), E. Kredel's work "Hundert französische Schlagworte und Modewörter" (Giessen 1926), L. Febvre's monography "Civilization, le mot et l'idée" (Paris 1930) or the numerous semantic Treatises by F. Schalk⁴ and other scholars.⁵ This list could be considerably extend. It is characteristic of these studies that they are committed to historical semantics of a traditional, i.e. semasiological nature, that they trace the changes in meaning of the individual word under investigation and often link these to the intellectual development of the respective period. Systemic linguistic connections are usually not taken into account in this context, so that often too one-dimensional and direct references are made. And from the point of view of communicative linguistics, which today is becoming increasingly important for such studies on the part of linguistic research.

³ Ibid., p. 412.

⁴ *Examples of Romance word history*. Frankfurt a. M. 1966.

⁵ Leo Spitzer, *Essays on Historical Semantics*, New York 1948. In some remarkable studies, W. Krauss has attempted to pursue historical semantics from the perspective of historical materialism and has examined, among other things, the history of the meanings of patriotisme, patriote, materialisme, revolution and enthousiasme; see Ulrich Ricken (ed.), *Struktur und Funktion des sozialen Wortschatzes in der französischen Literatur*, Halle 1970, pp. 79ff.

⁶, can of course not be considered indispensable. Nonetheless, historical semantics, which still appears within the traditional framework, has been given a powerful boost by conceptual history in bourgeois historiography and the historiography of philosophy for around two decades. This is closely linked to the special status that hermeneutic positions have attained in methodological debate. At the same time, it is reflected in numerous monographs and multi-volume encyclopaedias.

Probably the most demanding and typical work in this respect is : "Ge schichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexikon zur politisc hsozialen Sprache in Deutsch land", edited by O. Brunner, W. Conze and R. Koselleck, Stuttgart 1972 ff. Five extensive volumes of this six-volume work have been published to date. The editors have set themselves the goal of presenting the development of around 130 basic historical concepts in this lexicon. By basic historical terms they do not mean the technical terms of their discipline. Rather, according to their way of expressing it, they want to use it to cover "key concepts of the historical movement". Their starting point is : "No historical research can avoid thematizing the linguistic statement and self-interpretation of past or present times as a transitory phase of its investigation. In a certain sense, the entire source language of the respective periods under discussion is a single metaphor for the history whose knowledge is at stake.

is therefore limited to those terms whose scope and application can be used to identify structures and major event contexts."⁷ These terms, which are regarded as factors and indicators of historical movement, are essentially central constitutional concepts, key words of social, political and economic organization, guiding concepts of political movements, core concepts of ideology, designations of the social stratum and self-nominations of sciences that deal with socio-political phenomena. For example, terms such as: nobility, citizen, worker, peasant; state of emergency, anarchy, dictatorship, democracy, monarchy, parliament, party; enlightenment, progress, freedom, humanity, peace, emancipation, equality, ideology, liberalism, imperialism, Marxism, internationalism, radicalism, reaction, government, socialism, etc. are examined historically and critically. This list alone shows that not only do very different terms appear here, but also quite different relationships in linguistic terms. The authors of this lexicon are less concerned with the linguistic complexity of the changes in meaning or denotation relevant to the individual key words than with raising awareness of current political and social terms. They aim to show the meaning that numerous words used as termini have acquired, especially since the second half of the 18th century, by both illustrating the political-social circumstances they once denoted and clarifying the formation of the modern meaning. In the latter case, behind the philological endeavor to register the respective meanings in a seemingly unbiased way, the tendency to classify the examined terms according to bourgeois values emerges. This can be seen, among other things, in the structure of the article in question as well as in the summarizing concluding remarks and in an immanent defensive

⁶ Cf. inter alia R. Robin, *Histoire et linguistique*, Paris 1973 ; Klaus Bochmann (ed.), *Die Analyse politischer Texte. Theoretische und Methodenfragen*, Leipzig 1981 .

⁷ Vol. 1, p. XIII.

attitude towards Marxism-Leninism. In this context, it is also significant that the ideologizability of numerous basic political-social concepts of the modern era, their growing degree of abstraction and thus the loss of the ability to vividly refer to certain social conditions is emphasized as particularly typical.⁸ Starting from some quite correct observations, the bridge is drawn to a pluralistic concept that is committed to the bourgeois concept of ideology. This is closely related to the fact that the question of the adequacy of the concepts dealt with to real historical socio-economic development is not consistently asked. This type of conceptual history is intended to provide an interpretive approach to the experience reflected in the concepts and, as far as possible, to uncover the theoretical approaches contained in the concepts.⁹ There is no doubt about the importance of conceptual history for the individual historical disciplines¹⁰, but it should be examined in detail how and with what objectives it is pursued in each case. Despite all the insights that have been gained through conceptual history, it cannot be overlooked that it is also used in bourgeois concepts of science to support the common bourgeois concept of ideology and to ignore the problem of truth.

From a linguistic point of view, the conceptual history has numerous weaknesses, as it only pays very inadequate attention to the character of discourse, i.e. language in social interaction. The complexity of the respective communication event is lost from view. Too little consideration is given to the fact that the subject of the conceptual history under discussion in this lexicon is linguistic action aimed at political action.¹¹ The texts cited with regard to the history of the term in question are not, or only inadequately, differentiated according to the relevant "communication situations, communication restrictions, group codes and text types".¹² In addition, the moment of argumentation hardly plays a role and thus the reference to a more comprehensive linguistic unit of expression. In this respect, it is precisely relevant who intends what, at what time, out of what interest and for what purpose through the linguistic utterance. However, in addition to the perspective of the respective text producer, the horizon of knowledge and experience to be expected of the addressee and thus the problems associated with the decoding of the transmitted text in the communication process must also be taken into account. Klaus Bochmann therefore quite rightly calls for the following questions to be investigated:

- "(1) How is the speaker's attitude towards the addressee expressed linguistically, is the addressee included or mentioned in the text?
- (2) Does the sender identify himself, does he express himself in his own, collective or someone else's name?
- (3) What are the proportions of (group) own and other people's speech, how is other people's speech marketed?

⁸ Vol. 1, p. XVII.

⁹ Vol. 1, p. XXIV.

¹⁰ Cf. *Reinhart Kose/leck*, *Historische Semantik und Begriffsgeschichte*, Stuttgart 1978.

¹¹ In the introduction to this historical lexicon on political-social language in Germany, R. Koselleck refers to some important aspects associated with this (p. XX), but these ultimately remain a desideratum in the individual articles.

¹² *Heiner Schultz*, *Begriffsgeschichte und Argumentationsgeschichte*, in : Koselleck, *Historische Semantik und Begriffsgeschichte*, p. 64.

- (4) How is the speaker's attitude towards the message expressed, which 'modality' is chosen to mark the position towards the expressed facts?
- (5) To what extent does the text provide the information for its understanding, what is the proportion of presuppositions, is the text opaque or transparent? ¹³

These aspects are part of complex processes that are always based on certain socio-economically determined communication relationships and communication events based on them. It must be assumed that in the communication process, both sender and receiver have experience, knowledge and basic attitudes which, despite their individual characteristics, are socially determined and are reflected in the intentions of the sender as well as in the decoding by the addressee. Language, which only ever appears as a specific individual language, is linked to the entire mental and objective-practical activity of human beings. In its unity of cognitive and communicative function, it becomes an indispensable mediating factor in all areas of social life. This is particularly evident where the development of consciousness and behavior is concerned. The fixation and transmission of the contents of consciousness ultimately takes place via linguistic signs, with the help of which it is possible to influence the thoughts and actions of the communication partners. Each individual language, which always exhibits regional, social and functional-stylistic variations, albeit to varying degrees, is the product of social tradition and development as the code of the respective language or communication community. It is adopted by the preceding generations and used creatively with regard to the new communicative needs and thus further developed.

The influence of the ruling class on the dominant ideas and practices of an epoch.

The impact of this on the vocabulary of ideological concepts and social ideals cannot be overlooked. ¹⁴ But the oppressed classes have not resigned themselves to this in the historical development to date, especially not in times of intensified social conflict. With varying degrees of success, they attempted to undermine the guiding concepts and the key words of the ruling ideology associated with them by changing their meaning or even coining their own socio-political banner words in accordance with their aims. The existing social conditions were then no longer characterized in the language of the rulers, i.e. the prevailing terminology. New terms based on characteristic naming motifs emerged, or central expressions of the common socio-political vocabulary were semantically altered, sometimes even used in the opposite sense with a negative accent. ¹⁵

The use of language in politics is by no means limited to the particularly informative socio-political vocabulary. It includes all aspects of discourse and thus all relevant linguistic components. However, there can be no question of a special language of politics. In his book "Sprache der Politik" (Language of Politics), published in 1971, Georg Klaus said that one could only speak of a "language of politics" in a restrictive sense. And seeking a justification for this, he concluded : „ . . . for it

¹³ *Bochmann*, p. 15 f.

¹⁴ Cf. *Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels*, The German Ideology, in : MEW, vol. 3, Berlin 1962, p. 46.

¹⁵ Cf. inter alia *Wolfgang Fleischer*, Ideologie und Sprache, in : Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie, vol. 29 (1981),

H. 11 , PP. 1329-1339.

there is in principle only one uniform coherent language ; when we speak of the language of logic, of science, of jurisprudence, of politics, etc., this is only to mean that in the fields in question there exists, in addition to the linguistic districts of the common colloquial language, a special district which contains the technical terms of the science in question, the 'jargon' of certain classes and strata in political relations, etc."

It is rightly emphasized how in this case the general language is in a reciprocal relationship with the technical language, indeed forms the basis for this, and terminological elements appear to be integrated into the statement. Nevertheless, this hardly captures the complexity of this phenomenon. On the one hand, several specialist areas, i.e. specialist vocabularies, flow into politics. Since politics permeates all areas of social life and represents a complex of closely interconnected and mutually dependent areas of society, it proves to be a wide-ranging field. Politics is understood to be the struggle of classes and their parties, of states and world systems for the realization of their socio-economically determined interests and goals as well as the position of classes and strata in power. On the other hand, in the individual subject-specific areas that belong to the dimension of the political, a distinction must be made as to whether it is a matter of internal linguistic communication aimed at expediency or precision or communication directed outwards towards the general public. In this respect, Walther Dieckmann differentiates between functional language and opinion language and defines both as follows: "Functional language is used for organizational communication within the state apparatus and its institutions. . . It is reality-based and has a strongly rational character. The language of opinion conveys interpretations that ideology gives of reality, and

is aimed at the public outside . . . It contains a strong ideological

gical vocabulary." Certainly,¹⁷ the choice of the term "opinion language" is not very an

because it is misleading. Dieckmann also adopts a convergence-theoretical approach when he equates technical and methodological similarities in organizing administrative management in socio-economically very different social orders and thus excludes the fact that they serve the realization of very different target functions. Nevertheless, this dichotomy is based on an important observation that is related to the overarching relationship between general vocabulary and specialized vocabulary and differentiates according to the respective circle of communication. Recently, several linguists have rightly emphasized that the individual technical vocabularies are not only terminologies, but that specific communication situations can also be relevant. Thus, three layers can be identified for a number of specific subject areas:

- 1) the actual theoretically based scientific language, i.e. the specialist terminology,
- 2) the workshop language, i.e. the internal communication of everyday professional life, and
- 3) the language of dissemination, i.e. the language that has to establish contact with the general public and represents the link to the lay world. This third layer repeatedly influences the vocabulary of the general language. ¹

¹⁶ Georg Klaus, *Sprache der Politik*, Berlin 1971, p. 30f.

¹⁷ Walther Dieckmann, *Sprache in der Politik. Introduction to the pragmatics and semantics of political language*, Heidelberg 1969, p. 81.

¹ Wolfgang Mentrup (ed.), *Fachsprachen und Gemeinsprache*, Düsseldorf 1979.

There is a transition zone between the vocabulary of the general language and the specialized vocabulary in terms of the general circulation, the circulation value of the individual lexical units. This transition zone has different dimensions and characteristics depending on the socio-cultural and communicative conditions prevailing in each case. Among other things, the level of general public education, the framework and intensity of the social public sphere and the number and character of the existing communication channels play a remarkable role. Which subject area is relatively well represented in this transition zone depends on the respective needs and interests of society as a whole as well as on particularly relevant developments and events. In the transition zone, the specialist term in question has already lost its lexical foreignness, which need not be identical to a loanword or foreign word, but may well consist of native linguistic elements, for a large proportion of non-experts.

The relationship between technical vocabulary and general vocabulary in the field of politics is characterized by the fact that both the public factor and the respective class-related ideological framework, i.e. the general comprehensibility and the respective reference to socio-political principles and objectives, play a prominent role here. evaluation are of particular importance.

As a rule, technical terms are either terms that denote defined concepts in the system of a subject area, i.e. can be understood independently of context, or specialized terms that designate clearly definable (concrete) things in a subject area. If technical terms, especially those consisting of elements of common general language, are used at the level of general language, there is a possibility that the original terminological fixation will become blurred by associations brought about in everyday language. This danger of de-terminologization can be averted by conscious use of a term, but this depends on the political education and attitude of the language carriers concerned. On the other hand, it is characteristic – and this has to do with the "public" factor, the aim of addressing the broadest strata of society – that not only numerous descriptive and evaluative elements of non-terminological lexis are used in the presentation of political, social and economic facts and problems, but also that terms are used for central specific concepts which, in their transparency and motivation, are able to exert an influencing effect. Finally, it is typical that the respective political ideology in which the individual classes and tendencies both reflect their political self-image and formulate and justify their objectives rests on a coherent arsenal of terms. The latter is expressed above all in key concepts, and these in turn appear in individual key words, catchwords, banners or slogans.

Keywords, catchwords, flag words or slogans are not linguistic categories. It is therefore not surprising that they are hardly mentioned or defined in the relevant dictionaries of linguistic terminology. These are terms that refer in a striking way to such basic concepts, which are, as it were, crystallization points in the social, primarily political and intellectual-cultural life of certain periods and are characterized by a certain ideology and attitude.

are coined. They are conceptual nodes that evoke numerous associations with their naming and sometimes have a remarkable emotive content. Sometimes even lexical units originally defined by terminology are given such a function. In numerous philological and literary-historical studies of traditional observance, certain key words are singled out in the works of individual authors, which, without further definitional clarification, usually refer to terms that express, in a suggestive but concentric manner, frequently recurring basic ideas at the center of the intellectual world of the poet in question. They condensed not only his ideals and hopes, but also his aversions and fears.¹⁹ The keywords that emerged were therefore not always identical with the general ideals of a particular generation or society. In contrast to the buzzword, public impact is not an obligatory aspect of the keyword. In many cases, it can be identical to it, but this prerequisite is necessary.

Much more than the keyword is the

In political communication, one repeatedly came across certain, sometimes emotionally charged, sometimes stereotypical key terms, which were usually labeled as buzzwords. However, there are very different views on the definition and evaluation of buzzwords. They range from

"empty formula" to "linguistic term with prescriptive value judgement". Some emphasize its conceptual vagueness and highly emotional nature, while others highlight its ability to succinctly and concisely point out important points of orientation and serve as an agitational catchphrase. In an extensive essay, Rainer Freitag has attempted to define the character of the catchphrase in more detail.²⁰ He distinguishes the buzzword as a lexical unit from the buzzword on the one hand due to its political reference and its ideology-bound nature and from the political term on the other due to its expressive component. Within the buzzword, he also distinguishes the keyword, which always refers to one's own ideology and therefore always contains a positive evaluation. In my opinion, the term "flag word" could also be used here. Without a doubt, a slogan is ideology-bound, of varying emotive value and frequently encountered in public political communication. Certain goals and interests that move the general public and individual classes are reduced to a concise conceptual denominator and are thus often given a programmatic aspect of expectation or objective, so that value elements and connotations are usually added. Not every lexical unit can automatically become a catchword. Some lexemes were already present in the general language for a long time before they were used to express particular points of social interest in a condensed way due to certain social developments and thus took on such a function. The success of the buzzword in question was then determined by the given political situation, the psychological readiness of the recipients, the emotional potential for association and the social interests that emerged in this context.

¹⁹ Cf. *Stephen Ullmann, Semantics. Eine Einführung in die Bedeutungslehre*, Frankfurt a. M. 1973, p. 139.

²⁰ *Current problems of synchronic keyword research*, in : *Linguistic Studies on Language der Gesellschaftswissenschaften*, Leipzig 1977, pp. 84-135.

The necessary prerequisites for this are the economic perspective²¹. Furthermore, words are not inherently buzzwords, but can only become so when they are used in a specific discourse. Certainly, many buzzwords became stereotypical empty phrases after a long period of time or relatively quickly if the guiding principles, values or objectives they expressed had become inadequate and unrealistic and had to appear as empty phrases. Similarly, in many cases a political term could become a guiding principle and thus acquire an emotive value. In this respect, the boundaries between political term and slogan proved to be fluid, so that the distinction made by Rainer Freitag only applies 'grosso modo'.

It proved to be of crucial importance that the working class created its own socio-political vocabulary on the scientific basis of Marxism-Leninism. This happened in a process that was closely related to their struggle against the existing capitalist social order and was directly linked to ideological disputes within the workers' movement. The early works of K. Marx and F. Engels make it easy to follow the way in which this terminology developed in the initial phase: "New terms sometimes first appear in language-related synonymous variations."²² In many cases, a usual term for a particular concept was not immediately available. For example, in the early works of the founders of scientific socialism, the term "working class" initially coexisted with: working class, working human class, class of workers, working population, working class, working class, working class, propertyless class, proletariat. In the second half of the last century, the writings of K. Marx and F. Engels show that the synonymous variations of individual terms, including "working class", are less common or have been abandoned altogether. Their efforts to arrive at a fixed terminology, which might be effective for the masses through appropriate linguistic motivation, are clearly noticeable. While Marx and Engels preferred to use the terms "proletarians" and "proletariat" in their early works, from around 1860 onwards they preferred "workers" and "working class".²³ They also polemicized against the F. Lassalle's term "working class" and its ideological blurring. For those bourgeois forces, on the other hand, who tried to present themselves as pro-worker in their publicity at the time, it was typical that they spoke of the "working classes" or the "working class". "working class". At the time, bourgeois politicians and publicists often used the term "fourth estate" as a kind of term for the working class.²⁴

A typical tendency in the bourgeois ideology of the 20th century is to take up some of the guiding terms of the revolutionary workers' movement, which had a considerable resonance among the working masses, and to use them as a basis for the development of the bourgeois ideology.

²¹ Cf. *Werner Betz, Koexistenz, Schlagwort, Sprach- und Menschenlenkung*, in : *Alteuropa und die moderne Gesellschaft. Festschrift für O. Brunner*, Göttingen 1963, p. 342.

²² Cf. *Wolfgang Fleischer, Zur linguistischen Charakterisierung des Terminus in Natur- und Gesellschaftswissenschaften*, in: *Deutsch als Fremdsprache*, vol. 10 (1973), p. 200".

²³ Cf. *Elfriede Adelberg, Die Entwicklung einiger Kernwörter der marxistischen Terminologie*, in: *J. Schildt (ed.), Auswirkungen der industriellen Revolution auf die deutsche Sprachentwicklung im 19. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1981, pp. 208-213.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 241 ff.

i.e. to falsify or eliminate their original meaning and political objectives. Sometimes bourgeois social scientists and historians, but above all theorists and ideological spokesmen of oppositional left-wing bourgeois movements or revisionist or left-wing sectarian forces, adopt a number of Marxist terms, change their content and place them in other conceptual and evaluative contexts. The latter phenomenon is closely related to the tendency in bourgeois ideology, which has been observed for several decades, to take Marx one-sidedly in certain directions without regard to the overall conception of his revolutionary teachings.

Research into the history of concepts can undoubtedly be of great value to historical scholarship. The more communicative linguistic aspects are taken into account, the more the linguistic events in social interaction are taken into account, the more the historical and social complexity associated with them can be taken into account. By starting from linguistic events in social interaction, the intention, attitude, linguistic knowledge and knowledge of the world of the text producer as well as the expectation, assumed linguistic knowledge and assumed knowledge of the world of the text recipient are taken into account. The dictionaries of basic historical terms available to date do not take these aspects into account. Even the semasiological and onomasiological aspects associated with the terms studied, which are the focus of historical semantics, often do not receive the necessary attention. Ultimately, with regard to the development of the respective term, these dictionaries only offer a kind of framework for the emerging changes in meaning and denotation. In view of such a situation, there is a greater need than ever to develop interdisciplinary cooperation between linguistics and historiography in the field of conceptual history. Just as linguistic historians should be aware that their subject area is part of socio-economic development processes and cannot be comprehensively elucidated without close reference to historical science, historians should also be clear about the fact that cooperation with linguistics has become indispensable for conceptual and ideological historical studies because of the relevant communication problems.

Anti-fascist consciousness today Demands on historical-ideological work

The anti-fascist resistance struggle is of constitutive importance for the historical self-understanding of the citizens of the GDR. The elimination of the fascist dictatorship, which was the common goal of all forces, movements and personalities involved in the resistance struggle, was the fundamental prerequisite for the initiation of the revolutionary transformations from which the socialist **GDR** emerged.

Thus, the term "anti-fascism" is associated with a whole bundle of historical facts, experiences and lessons that essentially determine the emergence, development and character of the GDR.

It is deeply rooted in the historical consciousness of the vast majority of **GDR** citizens that the fight against fascism, its military defeat and the disempowerment of its socio-economic supporters prepared the ground for the establishment of a new social order.

An essential element of the anti-fascism that was alive in the **GDR** was the knowledge The fact that the communists led the most united and consistent struggle against fascist barbarism and made the most sacrifices is a source of the high authority of the party of the working class in the anti-fascist resistance struggle. The fact that the communists led the most united and consistent struggle against fascist barbarism from the very beginning and made the most sacrifices is a source of the high authority of the party of the working class in socialist society. The cooperation with "social democrats, trade unionists, Christians, bourgeois democrats and patriotic officers to thwart the plans of Hitlerite fascism" laid important foundations for forging "the firm alliance of anti-fascist-democratic forces", "which also attracted those who were without hope for a better future at the end of the war".¹ The active role of the surviving resistance fighters in the anti-fascist-democratic new beginning, in the founding of the GDR and in the construction of socialism is seen as a visible sign of the connection between the struggle against fascism and war, for democracy and social progress.

Anti-fascism also has a profoundly internationalist character. It results from the fact that the struggle against fascism took place within the framework of a broad international front. In the struggle against the Nazi clique, a hitherto unique front of peoples and states, of different social and political circles, of resistance and liberation forces was formed. Broad popular movements emerged against fascism and war, for freedom, democracy, national independence and social justice.

¹ *Erich Honecker*, Eine welthistorische Tat, die auch das deutsche Volk befreite, in: *Einheit* 1985, Heft 4/5, S. 293.

lism. "² In this respect, the commitment to the ideals of the anti-fascist resistance struggle also includes the responsibility towards the international community of nations to preserve the peace that has been so hard won and to ensure that fascism and war are forever a thing of the past.

Since the Soviet Union bore the main burden in this battle front of the peoples and made the main contribution to the victory over the inhuman system of fascism, anti-fascist sentiment is also associated with the deepest feelings of gratitude and friendship for the peoples of the Soviet Union. The Soviet army also proved the historical superiority of socialism in the struggle against the fascist aggressors and, by liberating the German people from Nazi rule, opened up the opportunity for a new beginning, which was resolutely seized in the **GDR** under the leadership of the working class.

Anti-fascism means consistent struggle for peace. It was one of the most noble goals of all participants in the anti-fascist struggle to defeat fascist German imperialism, the main troublemaker of international relations, to put an end to genocide and to bring about conditions that would banish war from the lives of the peoples forever. To act in the spirit of the anti-fascist fighters therefore means to stand up today with all our strength for the preservation of peace.

These meaningful connections are of extraordinary topicality for present-day action. So we are not talking about the past, about things that have been done or about objects of reverent remembrance when we talk about anti-fascism today. Anti-fascism contains indispensable historical lessons and experiences that are of great value in overcoming the problems of our time. Even today, the decision must be made again and again as to what to stand up for and what to fight against. The sharpened form of the debate on the vital issues of humanity and our people during the fascist era can provide important insights that facilitate decision-making today. The successes and failures of social forces at that time are linked to today's debates. They can give rise to political and moral legitimacy or to the rejection of imperialist policies and demagoguery, both then and now. The experiences of those years also contain benchmarks for evaluating the realities of today. They make clear the significance of the fact that Europe has lived in peace for 40 years, and the achievement of socialism in the GDR, which is an expression of the fact that in this part of the former Germany, after the destruction of fascism, the turning point towards a new social beginning was achieved.

Keeping the anti-fascist origins of the socialist and peace-loving GDR alive in the consciousness of society is therefore a very important task in shaping socialist social consciousness. It is a matter of conveying the realization that, as Konrad Wolf once put it, "there is no socialism without constantly renewing anti-fascism; because anti-fascism passes into every breath, into every heartbeat through daily action and thought ..."³

² *A n appeal for the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler fascism and the liberation of the German people*, in: Neues Deutschland, B edition, January 11, 1985, p. 1.

³ *Konrad Wolf*, *Wir Sozialisten sind mit jedem Atemzug, mit jedem Herzschlag Antifaschisten*, in: Konrad Wolf im Dialog. Künste und Politik, ed. and in. by Dieter Heinze and Ludwig Hoffmann, Berlin 1985, p. 375 f.

Since this is an element of history, it must be a prime concern of historical propaganda to devote itself to this task.

New challenges arise time and again. The greater the distance in time from the anti-fascist origins of the **GDR**, the fewer citizens can still have a direct relationship to it as contemporaries or as active resistance fighters and activists of the anti-fascist-democratic upheaval or the social revolution. The Statistical Yearbook shows that, as of mid-1984, the age composition of the population of the **GDR** was such that 63.03 percent of the inhabitants were younger than 45, 35.45 percent younger than 25.⁴ If we take the former age limit as a basis, then even the oldest of these fellow citizens no longer consciously experienced fascism, war and the immediate post-war period, let alone helped to shape them. At best, their period of experience begins with the period in which the foundations of socialism were laid. For a 25-year-old, however, August 13, 1961 is no longer an object of his own memory. For him, consciously effective experiences of historical events and processes can only be expected at the turn of the 60s and 70s. The statistical dimensions of these age groups make it drastically clear that the majority of the population of our country can no longer reproduce the real contexts to which the claim that the **GDR** is a profoundly anti-fascist state refers from their own experience.

The fact that knowledge of events and processes is an indispensable prerequisite for gaining and affirming lessons, experiences, insights, generalizations, evaluations and judgments derived from history is not only a statement that applies to anti-fascism. This connection is generally valid for the development of socialist historical consciousness. It has been proven empirically and reliably that socialist historical consciousness requires a vivid and therefore concrete idea of the real course of the historical process, organized according to scientific principles, which can be composed both of one's own experiences as well as of knowledge and insights conveyed and acquired in different ways. In any case, the following applies in principle: socialist historical awareness requires an available Marxist-Leninist view of history.⁵

Only in this way do sociopolitically and ideologically significant insights, generalizations and concepts acquire a real-historical background and background, so that they can be recognized as generalizations derived from the real process from essential sides. This lends them persuasive power and credibility and makes them suitable for application to real social problems.

However, this is particularly important when it comes to characteristics of phenomena with a high topical content, as is undoubtedly the case with anti-fascism.

In view of the situation in the age composition of the population of the GDR, which will continue to shift in the direction indicated over the next few years, there is an urgent need to stop historical propaganda for the permanent

⁴ *Statistisches Taschenbuch der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, published by the State Central Administration for Statistics, Berlin 1985, p. 142.

⁵ Collective of authors under the direction of Rolf Döhring and Helmut Meier, *Marxist-Leninist Historical Image and World View of the Working Class*. Berlin 1975, p. 18ff.

to attach even greater importance to the development and consolidation of anti-fascist ways of thinking and behaving. To put it bluntly, one could say that a proper relationship to the anti-fascist resistance struggle can only be maintained to the same extent and in the same quality as before if it is achieved through effective ideological influence, i.e. is constantly reproduced and consolidated through education and upbringing.

It is a favor of the hour that currently still living witnesses of that time, namely active participants in the anti-fascist struggle, can convey their experiences directly. As in the past, this must be utilized with the utmost vigor, but the work can no longer be built on this alone. It must be clear that the fulfillment of this educational mission depends more and more on how all social forces make it their own. Within this framework, the contribution of historical science and historical propaganda must also be assigned.

Not everything has to be reinvented. We can build on the tried and tested. But the significance of the activities will change and some considerations will have to be made. Everything that is suitable for presenting and cultivating the anti-fascist struggle as one of the most glorious traditions of the revolutionary workers' movement and our people must be continued. It goes without saying that the contribution of the revolutionary labor movement in this struggle must be given special attention. The leading role of the communists and class-conscious social democrats in the resistance movement therefore still deserves special attention, as it can be convincingly demonstrated that they were the most consistent champions of a life in freedom, prosperity, social security and peace. In the same way, the outstanding contribution of the peoples of the USSR to the defeat of German fascism and the liberation of our people must be repeatedly brought into focus. In addition, a number of other aspects are gaining in importance from a current perspective.

Understanding the historical significance of the anti-fascist resistance struggle requires today more than ever that greater importance be attached to imparting concrete knowledge about this struggle and about this period. First of all, this applies to the actions and actors of the resistance struggle itself. As important as it remains to explain the conception of the KPD and its program, it is also important to show it in its very concrete, everyday, creative implementation. The actual events must make it clear that the Communists proved to be the most clear-sighted, unbending and cooperative fighters during this difficult time.⁶

This means making as many resistance groups and fighters as possible the subject of historical ideological work in the future. There is a wealth of experience in this respect. For many years, the SED has focused on celebrating the achievements of resistance fighters and cultivating those born in the struggle.

~~Tradition~~ Tradition. The FDJ and the pioneer organization on "Ernst Thälmann" have taken up this task with great commitment. In the traditional cabinets of companies,

⁶ *Program of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany*, in : Minutes of the Proceedings of the IX Party Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in the Palace of the Republic in Berlin, Berlin 1976, Vol. 2, p. 258.

⁷ *Geschichte der Freien Deutschen Jugend*, Autorenkollektiv unter Leitung von Karl-Heinz Jahnke, Berlin (1982), p. 59ff. ; cf. also *Horst Heßas*, Zu einigen aktuellen Fragen des geschichts-ideologischen Wirkens

Units and units of the National People's Army and institutions, in the tradition movement at schools, through research assignments and circle work, through the awarding of names of anti-fascist resistance fighters to pioneer friendships, FDJ basic units, at schools, NVA offices and production brigades, significant work has been done to e l e v a t e the anti-fascist resistance struggle in our country to the rank of a living tradition.

A study of young Leipzig workers on their knowledge of and attitudes towards the anti-fascist resistance struggle, which was largely representative of the GDR, confirms that this basic objective was largely achieved.⁸ It showed that among young people in the GDR, anti-fascist resistance fighters occupy a privileged place among the historical figures regarded as exemplary.⁹

However, the studies also made it clear that it is important to make such activities even more sustainable. Sometimes not enough attention is paid to the fact that it is not always possible to work with the same methods and demands. There is a difference between a collective approaching an anti-fascist personality or group, first acquiring knowledge and materials, and constantly passing on the acquired knowledge and insight to new members or ensuring that the relationship with the chosen role model is used as a living impetus for solving constantly growing new tasks. Experiences that have proven themselves in this respect are not yet taken up with the same consistency as is already the case in the phase of building up traditional relationships. Above all, the danger of schematically transferring examples must be countered. Specific peculiarities and traits that characterize the chosen model must always be taken into account, as must the activity, tasks and composition of the collective. This is the guarantee that "standardized" ideas of resistance fighters and the resistance struggle will not arise. It will then b e much easier to emphasize the manifold manifestations of the struggle, the differentiated motivations of the people and the different contributions within the movement. In other words, the individual physiognomy of the heroes of the resistance will gain stronger contours. Greater concreteness also makes it possible to turn to regional history. Incidentally, it is also a concern of the agreement concluded on January 12, 1982 between the Central Council of the FDJ and the central leadership of the Committees of Anti-Fascist Resistance Fighters to further enrich the development and cultivation of anti-fascist traditions in this direction and to their diversity.¹⁰

Empirical studies have shown that in the historical-ideological era, the social and ideological breadth of the resistance movement against fascism must be brought even more into focus. Of course, every young person in the **GDR** knows that the resistance movement included members of the peasantry, the intelligentsia, the *small*

of the FDJ, in : *Geschichtsideologische Arbeit in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, Academy for Social Sciences at the Central Committee of the SED, Berlin 1982, p. 68 ff.

⁸ Cf. *Christa Köhler*, *Die Widerspiegelung des antifaschistischen Widerstandskampfes im Geschichtsbeußtsein der Arbeiterjugend (dargestellt am Bezirk Leipzig)*, Phil. Diss. A, Academy for Social Sciences at the Central Committee of the SED, Berlin 1980.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 94ff.

¹⁰ Cf. *resolution of the Secretariat of the Central Council of the FDJ*, dated January 12, 1982, 3/6/82.

The struggle was fought by members of the middle classes and bourgeoisie, civil servants, officers and clergy, people of different religious denominations. It is known that they did so partly together and under the leadership of Communists and Social Democrats, but partly also on their own. They were an integral part of the anti-fascist movement. Among the victims of the struggle were many people from these circles. We need only think of Pastor Paul Schneider, Pastor Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Father Alfred Delp and the Scholl siblings. Their work and their sacrificial deaths are also preserved as a precious legacy in the GDR. It is necessary to do justice to the significance of this contribution to the anti-fascist struggle in historical propaganda at all times. In this respect, the appreciation of those involved in the July 20, 1944 conspiracy in 1984 is of guiding importance.

In-depth knowledge of this also provides the insight that fascism is reaction all along the line. Although the fascist terror was primarily directed against the revolutionary workers' movement in the interests of the most reactionary and aggressive forces of imperialism, it also mercilessly hit all humanist, democratic and progressive aspirations and expressions from other classes and strata. The fate of such forces is lasting proof that democracy, humanism and progress can only be secured in the long term alongside and under the leadership of the working class. Incidentally, the commonality of the struggle against the common enemy moved many people from the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois camps, including many people with religious ties, to participate in the anti-fascist democratic and socialist transformation after 1945 under the leadership of the SED.

There is therefore every reason to recognize anti-fascism as a ferment of the political and moral unity of the people of the GDR. In this respect, not all possibilities in historical propaganda have yet been exhausted in order to make full use of the references contained in the appeal of the Central Committee of the SED, the State Council, the Council of Ministers and the National Council of the National Front of the GDR on the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism and the liberation of our people.¹²

The need for greater concreteness in historical-ideological work in this area also applies to the more vivid portrayal of the fascist opponent. Anti-fascism is the radical alternative to fascism, borne by the irreconcilability of opposition to this most barbaric form of imperialist exercise of power.

The resistance fighters came face to face with this dangerous opponent and had to experience all his brutality and contempt for humanity. They were exposed to the merciless use of his means of power and fought under extremely dangerous and extraordinary conditions. The decision to take a stand against this enemy was made with a clear awareness of the dangers to which they were exposing themselves. The danger of being recognized, betrayed and seized was omnipresent. All anti-fascists knew about the diabolical perfection of the Gestapo apparatus and the danger of the network of offices and organizations. They experienced the ideological devastation that fascism had caused in the minds of many people on a daily basis. They were directly confronted with the effects of pressure, threats, promises, seduction and manipulation. But all this is citizens,

¹¹ Olaf Groehler/Klaus Drobisch, Der 20. Juli 1944, in : Einheit 1984, issue 7, p. 633 ff.

¹² Cf. *appeal for the 40th anniversary of the victory* . . a. a. O.

who grew up and live in a socialist state. As a result, quite a few people, especially young inhabitants of our country, have difficulties in empathizing with the living and fighting conditions of resistance fighters in a fascist dictatorship. That is why everything must be done to portray this opponent vividly and in all his dangerousness. Kurt Pätzold agrees that the combined effects of terror, demagogy and corruption have not been sufficiently researched to date.¹³ It is necessary to make fascist methods of rule, living and working conditions, fighting conditions and the reactions of people under fascism more comprehensible. This is also necessary in order to counter various Western historians and politicians who pretend to measure fascism by "normal" standards and spread the view that everything was not so bad. On the other hand, it must be made clear how ingenious and ruthless the ruling classes were in their choice and use of means, what courage and conviction it took to join the battle front against this regime, what moral strength and superiority characterized the heroes of the resistance who did not despair under seemingly hopeless conditions, but persevered.

There is no doubt that the overwhelming majority of the citizens of the GDR take a completely correct principled position on fascism. What fascism is in its class essence is generally known, but how this regime functioned in practice and why it was able to subjugate broad masses of the people to its policies for twelve years, this question requires a thorough answer again and again, especially from the perspective of the growing distance in time. Incidentally, in this context, the significance of the artistic representation of the resistance struggle increases once again, because it allows the whole atmosphere of that time to be conveyed in a much more personally comprehensible way.

The constant clarification of the continuity between the fight against fascism during the Nazi dictatorship and the disempowerment of those guilty of war and fascism after 1945 is another important task of education in the spirit of anti-fascism.

The personal identity of the protagonists must be emphasized as an expression of this continuity, especially at a time when the number of fighters who presented them is decreasing. The understandable concentration of the cultivation of tradition on the direct struggle against the existing fascist dictatorship before May 8, 1945, pushes the fact that the liberation did not end the struggle as an anti-fascist into the background for many young people. The contribution that the anti-fascist cadres made to the social transformation in the GDR in continuation of their struggle and that of their fallen comrades and comrades must be more clearly included in the appreciation of the anti-fascist resistance struggle. In the minds of many young people, however, anti-fascism refers almost exclusively to actions during the reign of fascism over Germany. The agreement between the FDJ and the Committee of Anti-Fascist Resistance Fighters therefore rightly emphasizes: "Above all, it is important to further develop the awareness among all girls and boys that the GDR

¹³ Kurt Pätzold, Die faschistische Manipulation des deutschen Volkes. Zu einem Forschungsproblem, in: Soziale Grundlagen und Herrschaftsmechanismen des deutschen Faschismus. Der antifaschistische Kampf, Teil 1, ed. by Werner Kowalski, Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg, Wissenschaftliche Bei träge 1980 /42, p. 48 ff.

It is the culmination of the heroic struggle of the anti-fascist resistance fighters who, alongside the Soviet army and as activists of the first hour, have made and continue to make a significant contribution to the destruction of fascism and the building of socialism."¹⁴ The XII. Parliament of the FDJ also spoke out in this direction.¹⁵

Fully aware of this connection, it is easier to come to the conclusion that the fulfillment of the tasks of strengthening socialism and maintaining peace by every citizen is a contribution to the continuation of the anti-fascist fighting tradition that is appropriate to today's conditions.

Anti-fascism is to a large extent a struggle for peace. Anti-fascist resistance was directed against the most aggressive forces in the world at the time, which had united in the fascist bloc. From the outset, the fight against the fascist dictatorship was aimed at thwarting the threat of war. After the fascists had unleashed the Second World War, the very first goal of all anti-fascist forces was to bring about an end to the genocide as quickly as possible. In this respect, the anti-fascist resistance struggle imparts highly topical lessons, according to the historical experience that aggressors, militant anti-communist forces, must be restrained in good time, i.e. before they set the world on fire, by opposing them with as united a front as possible of all forces willing to make peace. As is well known, the anti-Hitler coalition that was formed for this purpose only came about after the outbreak of war. Anti-communist prejudices and short-sightedness on the part of the governments of some Western imperialist countries cost millions of lives. The USSR and all the other socialist countries associated with it are therefore waging a persistent struggle today to counter the policy of confrontation and armament of aggressive imperialist circles in the USA and NATO with political dialog, negotiations on an arms freeze and disarmament agreements. In the fight against fascism, a broad alliance of the most diverse social, political and global forces has proven to be possible and useful. Today, "the unity of all those who follow reason and realism is of decisive importance" in order to "avert the danger of nuclear war".¹⁶ The USSR is acting as an active force for peace by taking constructive initiatives, such as a draft treaty on the peaceful use of outer space and a unilateral moratorium on nuclear weapons, in an attempt to reaffirm its good will to reach an agreement with the USA that will free the world from the dangers of nuclear war.

However, the experiences of the fight against fascism have also taught us a lesson, that aggressive forces must not be allowed to gain military superiority. This reinforces the peacekeeping significance of the military-strategic balance between the Warsaw Treaty and **NATO**. Its preservation must be ensured precisely in the love of the

¹⁴ *Resolution of the Central Council ..., a. a. 0.*

¹⁵ As a revolutionary young guard, we make our contribution to the realization of the SED programme. - With new deeds in the "Ernst Thälmann contingent" of the FDJ forward to the XI Party Congress of the SED, *Report of the Central Council of the FDJ to the XII. Parliament of the Free German Youth*, rapporteur: Eberhard Aurich, Berlin 1985, p. 8 f.

¹⁶ *10th Conference of the Central Committee of the SED*, June 20/21, 1985, in preparation for the XI Party Congress of the SED. From the speech of Comrade Erich Honecker, Berlin 1985, p. 22.

The experience of history is an important guarantee for the preservation and safeguarding of peace.

Fascist German imperialism was the arsonist of the bloodiest war in world history to date. The legacy of the anti-fascists from all countries, classes and social strata obliges us to ensure that war can never again break out on German soil. This "endeavor", declared Erich Honecker, "has become a determining motive for the citizens of our republic in their thoughts and actions, in their daily work for the defense of our country. strengthening the socialist fatherland."¹

It is an important task of historical-ideological work to make even better use of the potential inherent in the tradition of anti-fascism to mobilize people to fight for peace in our time.

These aspects, which are linked to the communication of lessons and experiences of the anti-fascist struggle in the present, show that it is also one of those facts of history that are not "finished". However, the current situation also gives rise to new requirements that must be taken into account in historical propaganda if socialist historical consciousness is to fulfill its ideological function in the minds of our time.

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List of authors

- Bahner, Werner, Prof. Dr. phil. habil., Central Institute for Linguistics of the Academy of Sciences of the **GDR**, Full Member of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR.
- Bleiber, Helmut, Prof. Dr. sc. phil., Central Institute for History of the Academy of Sciences of the **GDR**.
- Bock, Helmut, Prof. Dr. phil. habil., Central Institute for History of the Academy of **Sciences**, Berlin
sciences in the **GDR**.
- Brüning, Eberhard, Prof. Dr. sc. phil., Karl Marx University Leipzig, Section of German and Literary Studies, Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR.
- Dietze, Walter, Prof. Dr. sc. phil., Dr. h. c.
- Engelberg, Ernst, Prof. Dr. phil., Dr. h. c., Full Member of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR.
- Feist, Peter H., Prof. Dr. sc. phil., Institute for Aesthetics and Art Sciences of the Academy of Sciences of the **GDR**, Corresponding Member of the Academy of **Sciences** of the **GDR**.
- Gossweiler, **Kurt**, Dr. sc. phil., Central Institute for History of the Academy of Sciences of the **GDR**.
- Grau, Conrad, Prof. Dr. phil. habil., Central Institute for History of the Academy of **Sciences**, Berlin
sciences in the **GDR**.
- Herrmann, Joachim, Prof. Dr. phil. habil., Central Institute for Ancient History and Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR, Full Member of the Academy of Sciences of the **GDR**.
- Klenner, Hermann, Prof. Dr. jur. habil., Central Institute for Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR, Full Member of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR.
- Knepler, Georg, Prof. Dr. phil. habil., Full Member of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR.
- Kossok, Manfred, Prof. Dr. phil. habil., Dr. h. c., Karl Marx University Leipzig, History Section, Full Member of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR.
- Kuczynski, Jürgen, Prof. Dr. phil., Dr. h. c. mult., Full Member of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR.
- Laschitzka, Annelies, Prof. Dr. sc. phil., Institute for Marxism-Leninism at the Central Committee of the SED.

Markov, Walter, Prof. Dr. phil. habil., Dr. h. c., Full Member of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR.

Meier, Helmut, Prof. Dr. sc. phil., Academy for Social Sciences at the Central Committee of the SED, Institute for the History of the German Labor Movement.

Mittenzwei, Werner, Prof. Dr. phil. habil., Central Institute for the History of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR, Full Member of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR.

Nussbaum, Helga, Prof. Dr. sc. oec., Institute for Economic History of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR, Corresponding Member of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR.

übermann, Karl, Prof. Dr. phil. habil., Dr. h. c.

Pätzold, Kurt, Prof. Dr. phil. habil., Humboldt University Berlin, Section History. Poppe,

Eberhard, Prof. Dr. sc. jur., Dr. h. c., Martin Luther University Halle, Section

Political science and law, full member of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR.

Ruge, Wolfgang, Prof. Dr. phil. habil.

Schmidt, Walter, Prof. Dr. phil. habil., Central Institute for History of the Academy of Sciences of the **GDR**, Full Member of the Academy of Sciences of the **GDR**.

Seidel-Höppner, Waltraud, Dr. phil., Central Institute for History of the Academy of Sciences of the **GDR**.

Steiner, Gerhard, Prof. Dr. phil. habil.

Treder, Hans-Jürgen, Prof. Dr. rer. nat. habil., Dr. h. c. mult., Einstein Laboratory for Theoretical Physics, Full Member of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR.